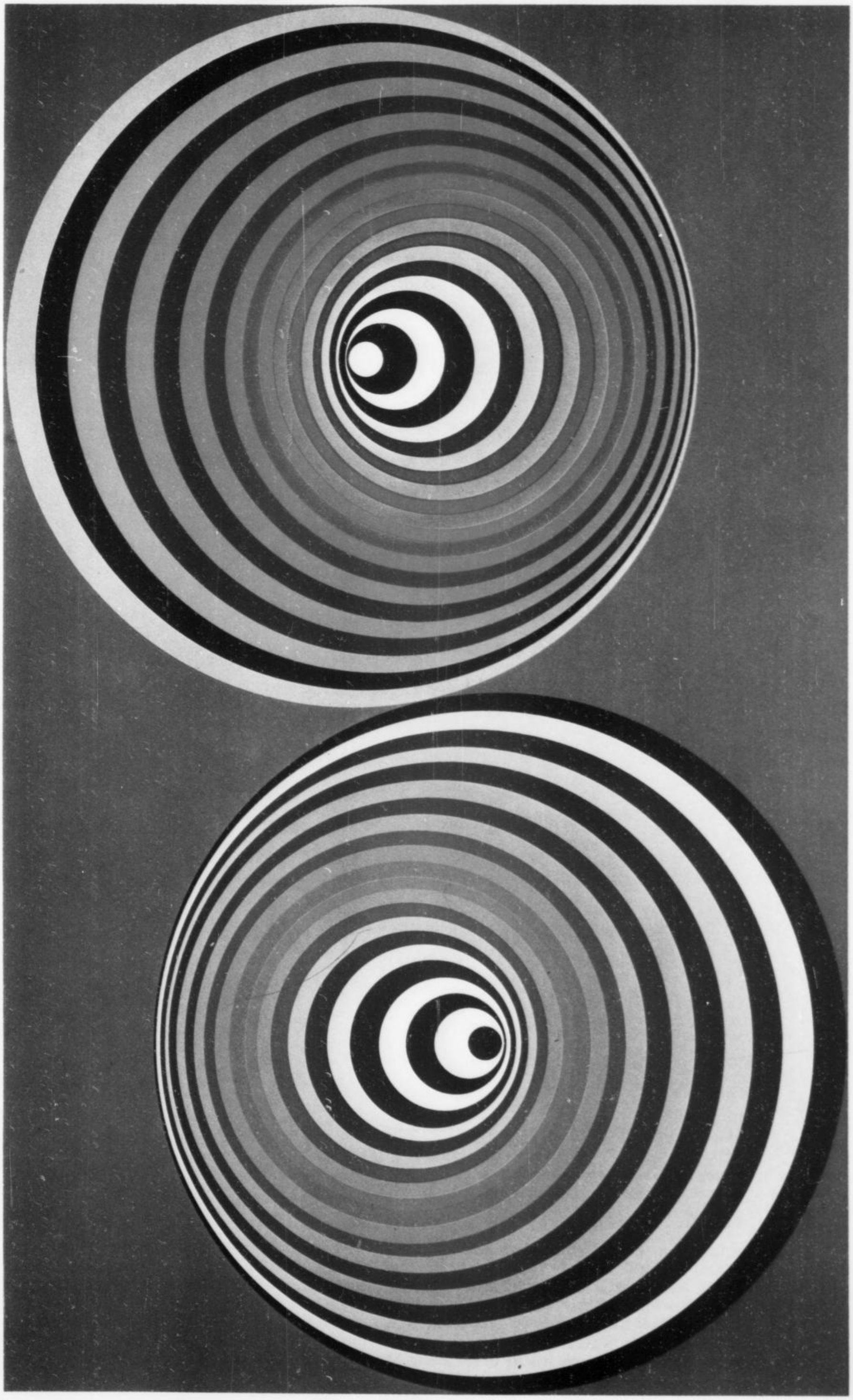
The Unesco Courier

JULY 1982 - 5 French francs

Peoples and Cultures



The Courier in Space

Photo © Hector Gonzalez, Chile

❹ CHILE — Music for Mother Earth

These musicians from the Chilean altiplano belong to the Aymara group of South American Indians whose culture is today menaced by the changes that have affected their region in recent years. Wearing headdresses adorned with ostrich and pink flamingo feathers and playing an instrument called a *sicura* which is only used for sacred purposes, they take part in a dawn offering of coca leaves and alcohol to the Earth Mother Pachamama, thanking her for her bounty and calling on her goodwill for the future. Today this ritual is only practised occasionally and it may soon die out altogether. The Aymara believe that the spirit of music lives in water, and during the night before they perform their ritual the musicians leave their instruments at the waterside, so that the murmurings of the water can teach them the music with which to pay tribute to the Earth Mother.

The Unesco Courier

A window open on the world

JULY 1982 — 35th YEAR

Published in 26 languages

English, French, Spanish, Russian, German, Arabic, Japanese, Italian, Hindi, Tamil, Hebrew, Persian, Dutch, Portuguese, Turkish, Urdu, Catalan, Malaysian, Korean, Swahili, Croato-Serb, Macedonian, Serbo-Croat, Slovene, Chinese, Bulgarian

A selection in Braille is published quarterly in English, French and Spanish

Published monthly by UNESCO
The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Editorial, Sales and Distribution Offices
Unesco, place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris

Subscription rates
1 year: 48 French Francs
2 years: 84 FF
Binder for a year's issues: 36 FF

Editor-in-chief: Edouard Glissant

ISSN 0041 - 5278
No. 7 - 1982 - OPI - 82-1 - 389 A

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Editorial

'PEOPLES and Cultures", our cover title, was chosen to highlight the idea of cultural universality and diversity which is the keynote of this number of the Unesco Courier. *The issue has been prepared in view of an event which constitutes a landmark in efforts by the international community to redefine cultural relations between individuals and between nations: the World Conference on Cultural Policies ("Mondiacult") which Unesco is holding in Mexico City from 26 July to 6 August.*

The second cover title, "The Courier in Space", refers to an exceptional event of a different kind. French and Soviet cosmonauts, flying in a "Soyuz-T6" spacecraft, have taken with them into space a specimen cover of this issue together with 100 examples of the serigraph which illustrates it and which was specially created for Unesco by Victor Vasarely. The proceeds from the sale of these works will enable Unesco to finance science scholarships for young students from the Third World.

An issue of this kind can pretend neither to deal exhaustively with all the complexities of cultural life, nor to set forth definitive solutions to world cultural problems. What we have done instead is to invite a number of writers and specialists to illustrate some of the topics that will be on the agenda of the Mexico City Conference.

Themes examined by our contributors include: the evolution of the concept of culture (Otto Klineberg); languages and cultural identity (Chingiz Aitmatov); the writer between two cultures (Tahar Ben Jelloun); the situation of women (Han Suyin); culture and power (Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and Augusto Roa Bastos); and culture and new communications technology (Russell Neuman).

However incomplete, such an overview may serve to illustrate an important point: even when the opinions expressed diverge from Unesco's appointed mission, a striking impression emerges of what Unesco is doing in many important areas of cultural life, while the opening article by Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow shows the contribution Unesco has made and is making to changing perspectives and activities where culture is concerned.

Nevertheless, readers will inevitably find many gaps in our coverage, one of them being the evolution of scientific thinking and its relations with cultural life. We intend to remedy some of these omissions in our August-September double number which will be devoted to an examination of major problems facing the world community today.

Cover: serigraph by Victor Vasarely © Unesco

Italicised captions in this issue are quotations from speeches by the Director-General of Unesco, Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, or from Unesco documents.

CULTURE
AND
DEVELOPMENT

The human dimension

by Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow

THE fate of modern societies is enacted on a stage which now encompasses the planet. Societies which until a few decades ago were able to live in almost total ignorance of each other are today in increasingly close and regular contact. There is a growing interplay of reciprocal influences; interdependence is a reality in many fields of human activity.

Yet while this interdependence is undoubtedly a source of mutual enrichment, receptivity, new initiatives and creativity, it is also a cause of frustration to the extent that it is accompanied by worsening conditions for certain peoples, and feelings of growing uncertainty and increased vulnerability. Sensitivity to changes, wherever they occur in the world, is becoming acute.

It is perhaps in the field of culture that the contradictory demands of new world relationships are most readily discernible. Communication between human beings is becoming global in its scope, and the quantity of knowledge and infor-

Seated Nude (1646). Etching by Rembrandt, (H. 9.8 cm, W. 16.8 cm). Photo © Sotheby Parke Bernet, London.

mation available is constantly increasing. With the development of computer technology, the possibilities of collecting this knowledge and information, of storing them and transferring them from one point on the planet to another are also continually expanding.

These exchanges and contacts are accompanied by a growing tendency towards a standardization of tastes and behaviour, and a homogenization of certain patterns of life, thought and action, of production and consumption propagated by the uniform dissemination of the same television series, the same musical rhythms, the same clothes and the same escapist dreams.

This growing conformity, which seems to follow an internal logic of its own, is gradually invading more and more areas of human activity. In its turn it generates distortions, since it tends to promote whatever conforms to it and to destroy everything that resists it. Whole sectors of creativity are thus repressed, and societies mutilated in their individuality and their distinctive structure. Carried to the extreme, this logic could lead to the ossification of mankind since diversity, if accepted on a footing of complete equality, is an essential and fertile source of vitality for both individual societies and the whole world.

However, as a kind of reaction to this trend, a renewed, explosive affirmation of individuality is emerging. Communities everywhere—ethnic and national, rural and urban, cultural and religious—are asserting their originality and endeavouring to take in hand and defend with vigour those features by reference to which their identity is defined.

The will to affirm and defend cultural identity appears now as one of the major driving forces of history. Far from representing a withdrawal into an immutable, self-enclosed past, it fosters a lively, original and constantly renewed synthesis. A sense of cultural identity thus appears more and more to be the *sine qua non* of progress for individuals, groups and nations; it is the force that animates and underpins the collective will, mobilizes inner resources and turns necessary change into creative adaptation.

It is today recognized that the notion of cultural identity lies at the very heart of development problems, but it is only recently that this fact has won full acceptance by the international community. It is only in the last ten years that our understanding of development, its paths and aims, has broadened and deepened. Originally equated with simple, linear economic growth—vital, certainly, insofar as an increase in the production of material goods makes a decisive contribution to the improvement of people's living conditions, when such goods are equitably distributed—development has increasingly been seen to be an infinitely more complex, comprehensive and multidimensional process, which is effective only if it is based on the will of each society to fulfil itself, and only if it truly expresses each society's underlying identity.

Genuine development can only be generated from within, willed and conducted by all the vital forces of the nation. It should therefore encompass all aspects of life and involve all the energies of a community within which each individual, each occupational category and each social group has its part to play in the general effort and has its share in the resulting benefits.

As so often happens, this growing awareness of the true nature of development was largely brought about by the setbacks experienced in developing and industrialized countries alike.

The developing countries, tempted to catch up with the industrialized countries by following the same paths, have sometimes endeavoured to adopt approaches to development which, seeking to achieve rapid economic progress by often inappropriate means, did not always produce the expected results, or even brought new constraints which not only reproduced but aggravated those which had handicapped the industrialized countries.

At the same time, the industrialized societies, considered to be the most developed, have also come to realize the very serious problems caused by economic growth seen as an end in itself. Damage to the natural environment is exacerbated by new constraints which threaten man's very existence as a social being attached to a community with which he can fully identify.

The whole international community is thus today, in different ways, increasingly coming to accept the idea of in- ▶

Photo Kazi Mizanur Rahman © ACCU, Tokyo

▶ tegrated development in which economic, social and cultural factors are indissolubly linked and contribute together to progress. Culture, which is connected with all expressions of life and which, for every human being and every people, is the expression of their highest values and their very sense of life, emerges as the factor which is to guide and humanize economic growth and technical progress.

To take account of the cultural dimension—or objective—of development is to recognize that the goal of development should be to render man unto himself, in other words to grant him a place in the world which magnifies his existence instead of narrowing it, a time befitting his needs and desires, a city in which he can be integrated rather than rejected, a community joined together in solidarity, and an occupation which brings him dignity and freedom. This is to attach due importance to creativity, which implies that each people assume its own identity by enriching and continually reinventing it through acts, words and artefacts.

Tradition must also be reckoned with, although it should not necessarily be seen as an obstacle to modernization. It is only when the sign loses its meaning that tradition may become negative, immobile introspection. It is far more accurate to see tradition as the cumulative record of the experiences of a community throughout its history.

As a result of cultural innovation, tradition may take on a new lease of life, become part of life as it is lived, and even contribute to development and progress. The conquest of modernity can be achieved by bringing up to date the forms, relationships and symbols which constitute, at the deepest level, the specific face of a culture. Innovation, the dynamic aspect of cultural identity and action, will be the agent of this awakening.

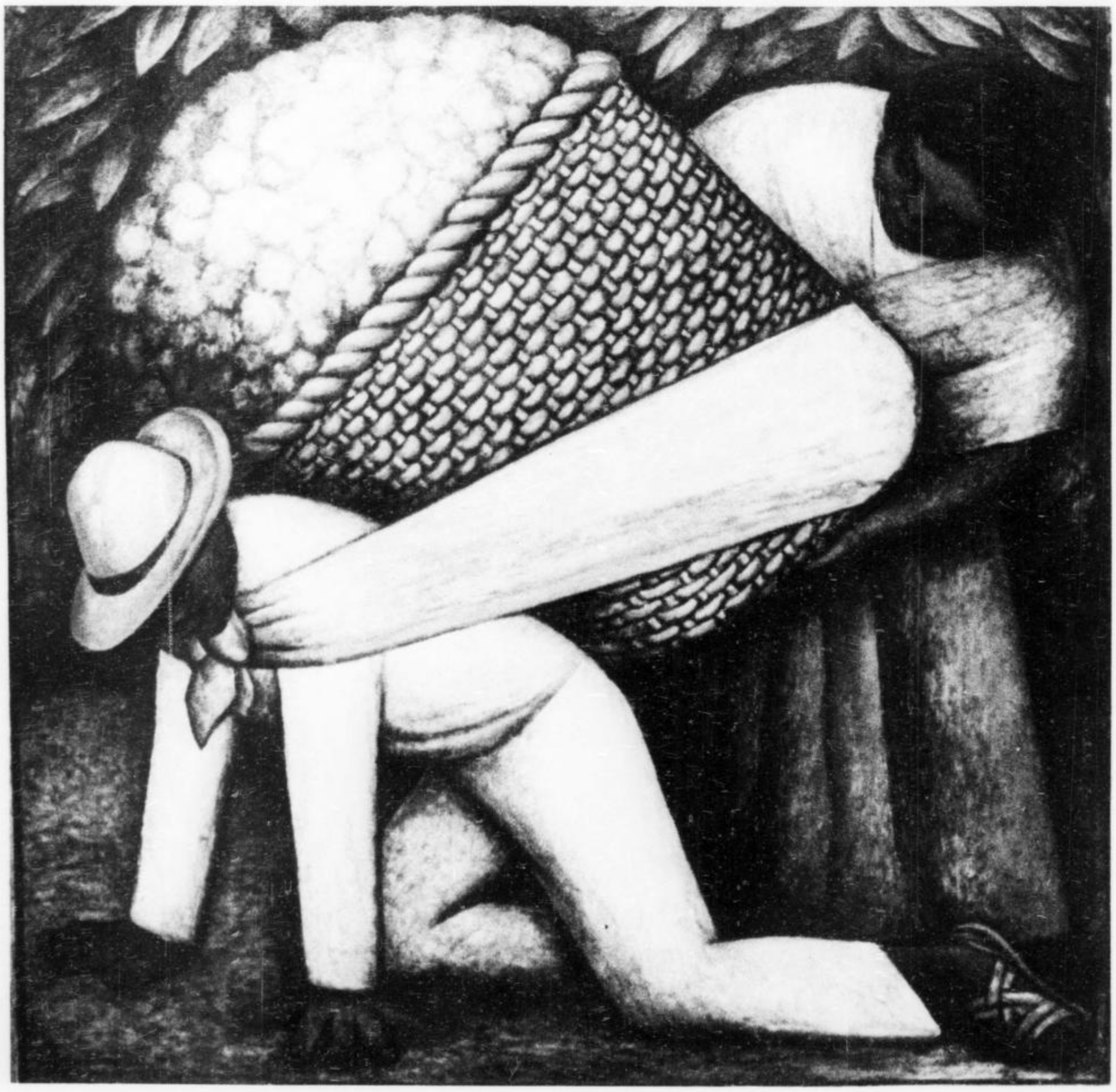
Thus the notion of cultural identity is today indissociable from that of development. Three major spheres of human activity—education, science and communication—which are also Unesco's fields of competence, are closely linked to culture and combine to extend its action in the service of development.

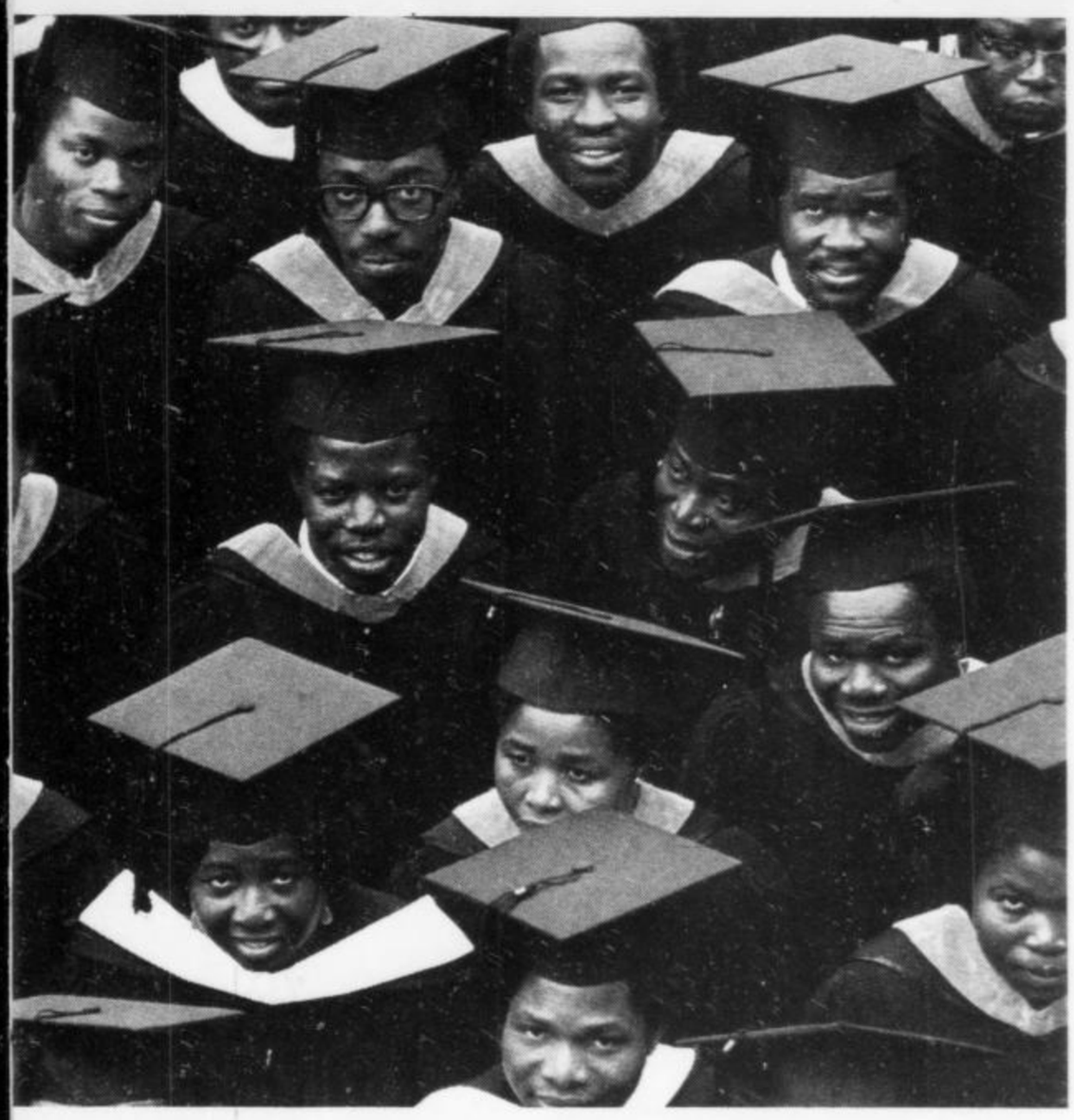
Culture and education foster the growth of social roots. From the viewpoint of development they appear as essentially complementary. Economic and social development is largely conditioned by the conception of the world which prevails in a given society, but this conception of the world is itself influenced by the message transmitted by educational systems and the sensibilities which they help to stimulate. Modern schooling has taken the place of traditional education. This trend is irreversible, but the new forms of education are not always appropriate to the situation and real

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CREATIVITY

The assertion of cultural identity was considered to be an act of liberation, a weapon in the fight for effective independence and the best means of achieving the self-fulfilment of individuals and the harmonious development of societies. It was, moreover, the first prerequisite for the advent of a new world order, based on the inalienable right of nations to dispose of themselves and on the recognition of the absolute equality and dignity of all cultures.

***The Flower Vendor,* 1935, by the Mexican artist Diego Rivera (1886-1957). Oil on panel, 121.3 cm × 121.3 cm. San Francisco Museum of Art, California, USA. Photo © Dominique Darr, Paris.**





CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CREATIVITY. ***Cultural identity is not a problem for the general public but for the educated, whose upbringing has often included virtually inevitable elements of cultural alienation. The élite must return to their culture to understand it more effectively and experience it as a living reality in order to find their roots in it. Seem from this angle, cultural identity should be asserted primarily in the schools and universities. An élite, often educated in other schools and sometimes unsure of its identity, must be helped into awareness of its own heritage and its eyes opened to the fact that popular culture is not merely folklore.***

African students at Bowie State College, Maryland, USA. American universities, which are attracting more and more African students, maintain close ties with Africa. Photo Richard Saunders © ICA, Washington, D.C.

needs of individuals and groups. A widening rift in intellectual and cultural life may be observed with the extension of schooling, an uneasy coexistence between an élitist culture and a popular or traditional culture which has virtually nothing in common with the former.

In a number of countries, oral tradition is the authentic memory of the people and, swelled by new contributions from each generation, explains the world in all its diversity. In most cases too, its symbolism opens a door onto a fabulous world of the imagination. The data recorded in the oral tradition must be rediscovered and collected, for to destroy or banish them to oblivion would be irreversible.

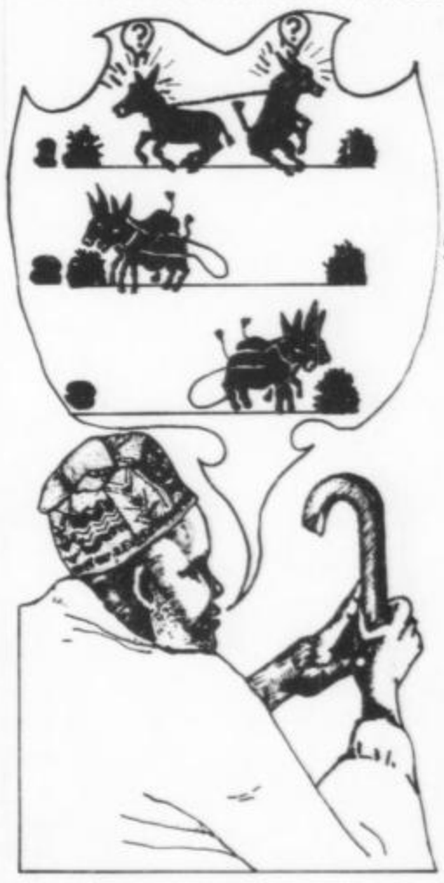
But there are many other ways in which education must be linked to the most significant values of a culture. To take one notable example, an effort must be made to avoid the shock of uprooting a child which occurs when he is taught from the moment he enters school in a language which is not his own. The use of languages spoken by the community to which the child belongs thus appears as both an educational and a cultural imperative. Associated with this major choice should be various reforms which, through the promotion of popular arts and traditions, and social values, would aim to implant education in the realities and history of the nation.

In this way it is certainly possible to gain from peoples that conscious and active participation without which there can be no profound sense of cultural identity nor any truly endogenous development.

Another fundamental question is that of the relations between science and technology, on the one hand, and culture on the other. Whether we like it or not, the implantation of a technology is a cultural phenomenon. Even in cases where the introduction of certain technologies brings the most obvious benefits, the transfer is not culturally neutral and may cause a distortion of standards and the emergence of new values bearing no relation to deep-rooted social and human realities.

It seems to me desirable, whenever possible, to try to develop on the spot a technology adapted to the specific needs of each situation, instead of turning to imported formulae when the latter cannot be satisfactorily mastered. The best and most vigorous development will always be endogenous development, that is to say, development consciously and fully assumed by everyone. For if the demands of development require that no society can do without science, if science is to be most fruitful it must grow roots in each society. Science will not contribute to improving the lives of men in countries where it is perceived as a foreign import until the day when it becomes an integral part of their culture.

And so the need to participate in decision-making concerning scientific and technological development appears to be emerging in various societies. This trend suggests a certain shift in aspirations, from exclusively economic goals to a ▶



KARIN MAGANAA AL'AADAR DUUNIYAA_

ANDUNYA YAASAY GA CI CIMI_

YAASEEWOL HOKKOTA YOYRE SIWTAAGO NDER DUUNIYAARU_

KARAW, AJAARAM GAADO YE_

A NAN WISSHARAN A-DU TƎWƎQIYƎN_

PROVERBES, REALITES DE LA VIE_

Saatumbaa Handu yegganta Suumaye **1978** **Sepetamber Shin erum Septembre**

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ALHAMIS	ALAAMISI	ALHAMIISA		7	14	21	28	LAAMISU	ƎLKHƎMIS	JEUDI
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Transcription

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CREATIVITY. ***The question of each group or nation's cultural identity, which is at the meeting-point of culture and communication, shows the importance of language both as a vehicle of communication and as part of the cultural heritage. Linguistic richness imposes not only a respect for the many languages existing but also a complex and costly adaptation of the communication networks to the different linguistic areas, as well as the use of many languages by the communication media in order to avoid standardization. Language policy therefore constitutes one of the thorniest and most important issues in the formulation of communication policies.***

Calendar used in Niger and printed in six languages: Zerma, Hausa, Peul, Tamashek, Kanuri and French. Photo © All rights reserved.

▶range of ultimate objectives related to social and cultural development. It also appears to be the sign of growing awareness of the decisive role played by technology in the development of societies, and of the determination of peoples to assume greater responsibility for their own future, with a fuller knowledge of what is at stake. Thus the search for greater compatibility between the directions in which technological change is steered and the expectations of society may well be one of the key issues of the coming decade.

Communications technology has made such strides in the last few years that it has revolutionized life and development in both industrialized and developing societies. Increasingly people are encountering other cultures in their everyday lives, discovering other values, observing attitudes unfamiliar to them, and thereby coming to know the many faces of mankind. And soon, through direct satellite television broadcasting, it will be possible to transmit knowledge globally, and the irruption of other cultures into every home will be a permanent fact.

Whether the role of the new instruments is beneficial or harmful will depend on the way in which they are used by mankind. It seems indispensable to integrate the communications media into cultural policies, for it would be vain

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CREATIVITY. *Culture, which was not something separate from consciousness of the community's identity, was probably regarded first and foremost as a factor making for a stronger sense of national individuality; but the quest for cultural identity was in all cases combined with sympathetic receptivity to the other cultures of the region and of the world, and, ultimately, to all that is universally human, which ruled out cultural isolationism and entailed the disavowal of chauvinistic assertions of distinctive nationhood.*

Pre-Columbian sculpted heads on a poster published in Mexico in 1970 on the occasion of the World Cup. Photo Bob Schalkwijk © Alejandro Von Wuthenau, Mexico.

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CREATIVITY. *One might well ask whether the perfectly legitimate desire to eliminate the élitist aspects of culture has not, as a side-effect, led to a certain undervaluation of the specific function of creation in the totality of social functions. To put the question in the most basic terms: what would disappear if creation were to disappear from society?*

A young Balinese sculptor at work. Photo Burt Glinn © Magnum, Paris.

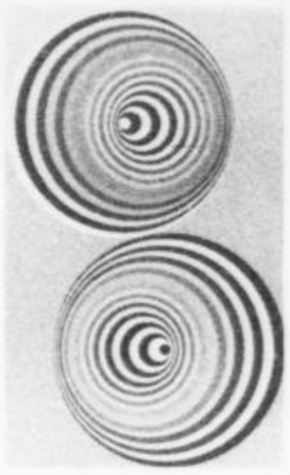
to pretend that the media only raise problems of a technical order. They are bound to have repercussions on political attitudes, on social behaviour, on ways of thinking, and thus on culture in the broadest sense.

If development is the concern of all institutions of the United Nations system, cultural questions devolve exclusively on Unesco, which has for some years been making an original contribution to the problem of cultural development by launching and promoting the idea of "cultural policy."

An intergovernmental conference on cultural policy was held by Unesco in Venice in 1970, and subsequently a number of regional conferences met in order to deepen and continue, in their specific contexts, the process of reflexion begun by the international community and to accelerate the evolution from an élitist concept of culture to that of cultural action committed to development which would promote the fulfilment of individuals and communities.

"Development must find its inspiration in culture", says the unanimously adopted Declaration of the Bogotá Conference (1978). Unesco is continuing this long-term effort by holding a world conference on cultural policies in Mexico City from 26 July to 6 August in order to make an assessment of this "first cultural development decade" and to set forth guidelines for the future.

■ **Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow**



THE EVOLUTION OF A CONCEPT

Cultural pluralism in a changing world

by Otto Klineberg

FOR most people culture suggests high artistic or intellectual achievement, the development of art and science, the humanities, philosophy, the expression of the genius of a people.

For the social scientist it includes all this and much more; it may be defined as embracing everything that a person acquires as a member of society; all the habits and capabilities which are learned through tradition or experience, as well as the material objects which are produced by the group. It may be expressed in works of art or scholarship, but also in what we eat and the way we dress, in the nature of our relationship to members of our family or to others in the society, in our system of values, in the education we receive, in our ideas of good and bad, in the kind of houses we build, in the expectations and hopes we have for the future, in our attitude toward strangers.

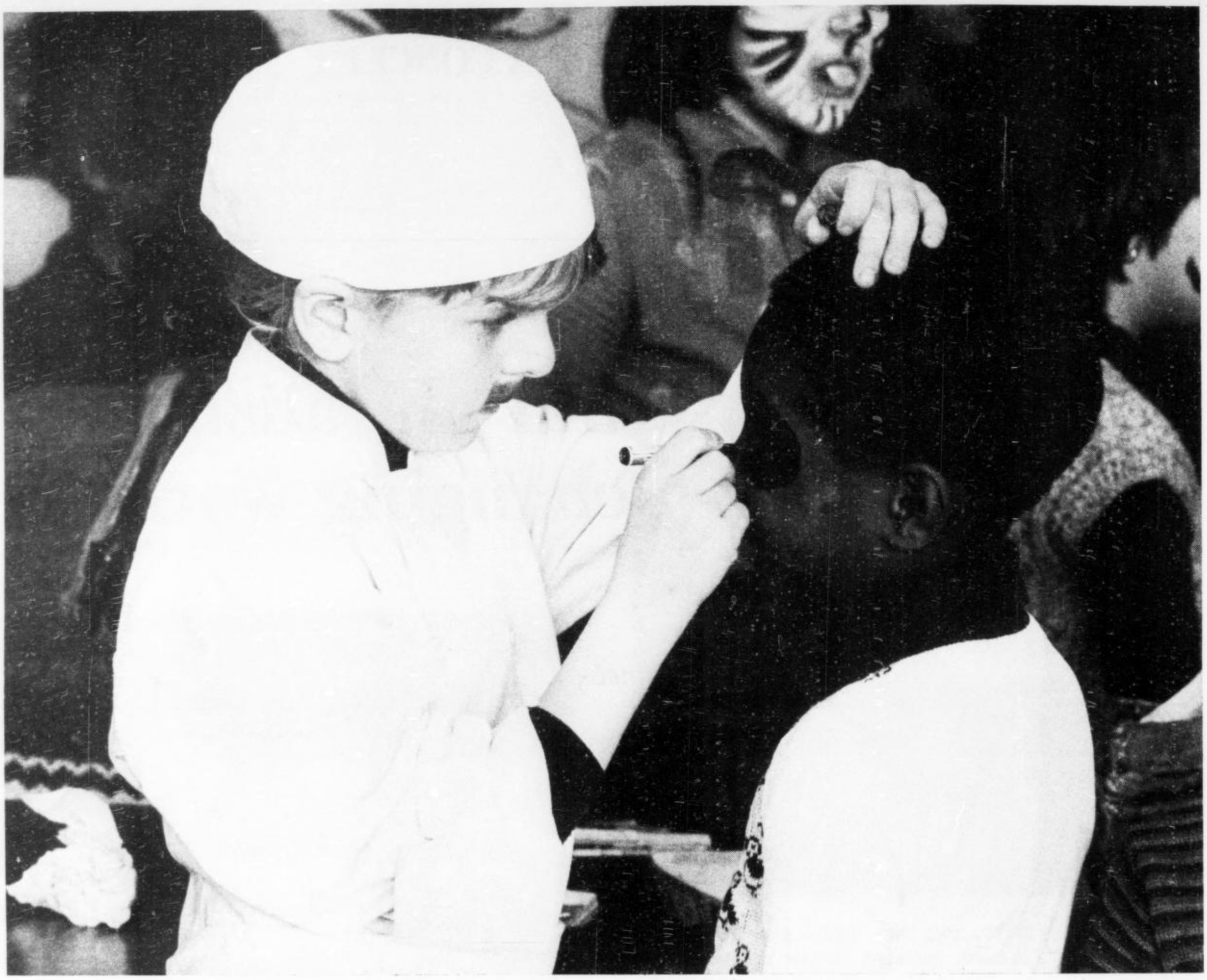
This list is far from complete, but it should suffice to indicate the range and complexity of the content of cultures. It is not surprising that a number of writers have described culture as a concept of major importance in the social sciences because of the demonstration of the extent to which our behaviour and our ideas are shaped by the group to which we belong. In that connexion it has served as a needed corrective to the widespread notion that differences in the way of life of different groups are determined mainly if not exclusively by biology or race. It is this wider concept of culture which is used in what follows.

It is perhaps not too surprising that in the history of human contacts most groups have been much more impressed by their differences from others than by the similarities. All too frequently this has been associated with the belief that if *they* are different from *us* they must be inferior. In the language of many of the pre-literate societies described by anthropologists the expression "the people" referred only to one's own group; other groups were often considered strange, exotic, inferior, somewhat less than human. This attitude, although widespread, is not necessarily universal, but it has certainly played an important part in the relations between peoples, not only in the obvious cases of colonization and other forms of exploitation, but even in situations which are motivated by liberal high-minded programmes such as technical assistance or co-operation, in which the receiving areas are expected to adopt the standards and models of the donors.

In this respect, however, it is possible to identify certain counter-currents, characterized by a greater willingness to recognize the rights of others to their own cultural identity, and by a greater concern on the part of those "others" to maintain that identity. In the USA, for example, the sociologist Milton M. Gordon has distinguished three stages in the approach to the complex American ethnic structure. The first, *Anglo-conformity,* demanded "the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral heritage in favour of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group;" the second, the *melting-pot* idea, envisaged "a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type;" the third, characterizing the present situation, is *cultural pluralism,* which seeks "the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture of the later immigrant groups within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society." Problems remain as to the extent to which such a goal is fully possible or desirable, but certainly the acceptance of a variety of cultural forms within the nation-state is much greater now than it was in the past. The same is true for other countries such as Yugoslavia, the Philippines, Belgium and France, not always to the same extent, but in the same direction.

On the other side of the picture, various ethnic groups in a number of different countries are now actively seeking the preservation of their own cultural identity. One of the most striking recent instances of an ethnic group seeking to establish and maintain its cultural identity is that of the Blacks in the United States. Slavery and its aftermath of an inferior socio-economic position within the larger community were clearly not conducive to the development of a positive sense of identity.

What happened during the 1960s was something approaching a psychological revolution. There was a refusal to accept the notion of "cultural deprivation", since the ▶



INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

One of the functions of intercultural activities is to inhibit racism and to promote a better understanding between cultures. The very fact that young children feel no aversion to what is different and that such aversion is acquired proves the urgent need to undertake fundamental research which would enable teachers to suggest activities that respect the evolution and modalities of the relational life of the child.

Make-up artist at work at a children's cultural festival in France. Photo Robert Delpit © Fotogram, Paris.

▶position of the Blacks was that they had their own culture. With that went the development of a whole complex philosophy (or ideology) of identity. This included the concept of Black Power, the slogans "Black is beautiful"and "I'm proud to be Black;" African roots and a Black or African culture; Black nationalism. Black psychologists and psychiatrists spoke of a new Black ethic based upon racial awareness, high self-esteem, identity and pride; a sense of adequacy and security.

One aspect of culture which Blacks have emphasized is that their self-identity is always a people-identity; "I am because we are, and because we are, therefore I am." This is seen to be in contrast with the Western emphasis on the self as individually unique and different. In a recent book by an American social scientist, Edmund Glenn, an African ambassador in Washington is quoted as saying: "The source of the greatest misunderstanding between Americans and Africans is the positive value attached by the Americans to individualism, and the negative value attached to it by Africans."

In France today we are witnessing a striking development of concern with ethnic identity and the preservation of minority cultures. In Brittany, Corsica, "Occitanie", etc., this tendency has increased in strength as it has also among the Catalans and Basques in Spain, American Indians and European minorities in the United States and Canada, the Maori in New Zealand, the aboriginal population in Australia and other ethnic groups in many parts of the world.

All of these developments appear to be in a direction which we should welcome. The Unesco Declaration on Race in 1967 includes a statement to the effect that "ethnic groups which suffer discrimination are sometimes accepted or tolerated by the dominant group if they totally give up their cultural identity... Ethnic groups should be encouraged to preserve their cultural values, thus contributing to the enrichment of the total human culture."

Culture, as has already been indicated, refers to behaviour which is specifically human and also to the distinctive ways of life found in different human populations. From the point of view of education for international understanding, it has frequently been suggested that it is important to supply information as to how others behave; although such information does not necessarily lead to friendly attitudes, it does seem safer to base our relations with other people on knowledge rather than on ignorance. On the other hand, the psychologist Gordon Allport suggested a number of years ago that educators had gone too far in stressing the differences

among peoples, and presenting others as strange and even exotic in their behaviour. He called instead for an "encyclopedia of human similarities," with greater stress on the common-human. A more reasonable position would be to include both the resemblances and the differences. Our understanding of culture requires a concern with both similarities and differences, and also with the ease and likelihood with which the differences occur.

A serious difficulty arises when we attempt to identify *the* characteristics of a particular culture. Every group is a complex, with variations in behaviour according to social class or status, occupation, education or role; the kind of culture exhibited or absorbed by the individual will be somewhat different for men and women, for young and old, for each individual; in a nation-state it may vary considerably from one region to another. These variations are often characterized as sub-cultures, but it is not easy to determine how many sub-cultures should be distinguished. In addition, cultures change. How much continuity is there between Czarist and Communist Russia, Elizabethan and Victorian England, or the France of Louis XIV and today?

In connexion with cultural change, there is an important development in recent years which is usually defined as the "counter-culture," because of the position taken by its adherents in relation to, and often in opposition to the prevailing values of the larger community. It is mainly confined to the young in industrial societies; it denies the relevance of many of the ideals of the parents; it is not concerned with making preparations for the future, but insists on living intensely the experience of the present (the now generation). Success is seen not in material terms but as personal development, self-fulfilment, self-realization.

One aspect of this movement is particularly striking in connexion with cultural variations. For many of the devotees of the counter-culture, salvation is to be found in the religions of the Orient. Many parents and teachers of the young in revolt against their society find it hard to understand the attraction of Zen Buddhism or Hinduism, but the emphasis on contemplation and inner peace must seem very palatable to those trying to escape from a society which stresses hard work and material success. Not only do the Eastern religions provide an alternative style; they also reduce or remove any feelings of guilt that may be felt as the result of defection from the goals which the young had been brought up to respect, but which no longer satisfied them.

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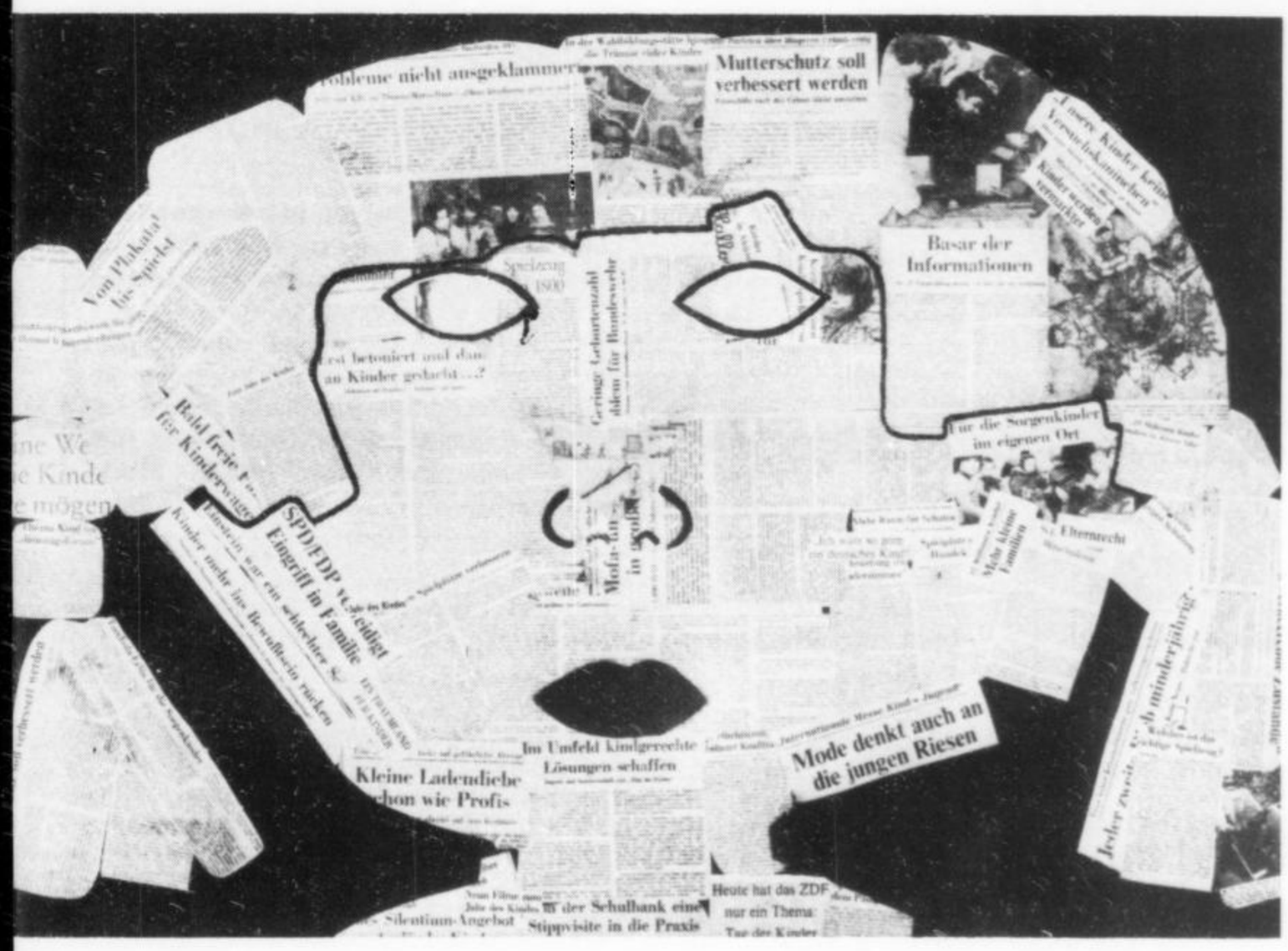

Mutterschutz soll verbessert werden
Basar der Informationen
Mode denkt auch an die jungen Riesen
Im Umfeld kindgerechte Lösungen schaffen
Kleine Ladendiebe schon wie Profis
Heute hat das ZDF nur ein Thema:
Stippvisite in die Praxis

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS. *Co-operative relations between nations can—as a consequence of the central role assigned to knowledge—be approached from two related standpoints, distinct yet interconnected. Direct action must be taken, firstly, to foster understanding among nations, by promoting "the free flow of ideas" and, generally speaking, exchanges in the sphere of intellectual and cultural activities. But co-operation is also needed in order to bring about broader participation in intellectual and cultural activities in all societies, whence the notions of "popular education" and "the spread of culture"; whence, also, the ideal of "equality of educational opportunity" and the need to "maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge". At the meeting-point of these two approaches, Unesco must work to "give people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them", and also assure "the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance" in the field of culture.*

A montage of newspaper cuttings concerning the rights of the child in The Federal Republic of Germany. Photo courtesy of the Fed. Rep. of Germany National Commission for Unesco.

THE BOOK

Although the developing countries represent about 70 per cent of the world population, they produce scarcely a fifth of the books published in the world, the rest of the production being concentrated in about 30 industrialized countries. The chief obstacles to the development of local production are the cost of intellectual production (authors' fees, acquisition of copyrights, financing of translation), and the cost of manufacture, in which the two main items are machinery and paper but which also includes professional training. Until they are able to cater for their own needs, the developing countries are obliged to meet their home demand—which is increasing with the spread of education and the advance of literacy—by recourse to outside sources of supply. This involves them in expenditures which are all the heavier in that high transport costs have to be added to the price of the books themselves and that payment has to be made in foreign currency. Moreover, the imported books are by no means always suited to the aspirations of their peoples, whereas their national authors, who are often forced to publish their works abroad because they are not included in the local publishing economic circuit, would be in a position to meet most of their needs. Outside supplies can thus only be temporary palliatives and not real remedies for the book shortage.

This multi-purpose library van, of the New Delhi Public Library, carries some 3,000 books in Urdu, Hindi and English. Photo E. Schwab, Unesco.

UNESCO AND THE IDEA OF CULTURAL POLICY

The years that have elapsed since the World Conference on Cultural Policies organized by Unesco at Venice in 1970 have been a very interesting period of increasing awareness in the cultural field.

At the theoretical level, some key concepts have emerged from the discussions and meetings held at the instigation of Unesco. Fundamental questions have been asked about the role of culture in the modern world. Various regional conferences have pursued in greater depth the forceful ideas first enunciated at Venice, and have dealt both with problems specific to the regions and with those that form part of the world cultural problem.

Culture defined solely according to aesthetic criteria does not translate the reality of other cultural forms. There is a unanimous feeling in favour of a socio-anthropological definition of culture. Culture should describe the sum total of the existential, concrete characteristics of entire peoples. It includes ways of life and production, value systems, opinions and beliefs. Hence the impossibility of applying a single, interchangeable cultural policy. The dynamic aspect of this definition is its recognition of cultural specificities.

Since culture is linked to the various aspects of social life, any cultural policy should be defined in terms of its interactions with policies for education, science and technology, environment and communication. Hence the key idea of the cultural aspect of development.

CULTURAL CONFERENCES

VENICE (24 August-2 September 1970): Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies.

At Venice, States became aware of their new responsibilities in the cultural field and of the growing importance of cultural values in the life of nations. Human rights came to include the right to culture. Governments found themselves under an obligation to create conditions favourable to the exercise of that right. The Venice conference widened the notion of culture to include the way of life of the people, and began to regard cultural development as an essential feature of the overall development of any society.

It seems indispensable to develop a policy of cultural action which would promote the democratization of culture. Access to culture does not imply the acceptance of a finished cultural product; the aim should be for the community to participate actively in cultural events.

EUROCULT : Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Europe (Helsinki, 19-28 June 1972)

The Helsinki conference considered the cultural ends of development and dealt with the interaction between culture on the one hand and education, communication and environment on the other. It brought out some highly significant links between culture and social justice, between culture and youth and between cultural activity and attempts at democratization. It paid special attention to artistic creativity and the status of the artist; to the increasing participation of the people in cultural life; to innovations stemming from the intelligent use of the mass media; and to the safeguarding of the environment and the improvement of the habitat.

The acceptance of cultural diversity within a community and the reconciliation of cultural pluralism with national unity constitute one of the major challenges for cultural policies in the future.

ASIACULT : Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Asia (Yogyakarta, 27 October-6 November 1973)

The main original feature of the Yogyakarta conference was that it put forward the idea of the cultural development of individuals and societies as a factor for national identification and a means to social progress. It advocated the search for original development models to hold the balance between material and spiritual and between social and individual values and between the preservation of national cultures and the necessary assimilation of science and technology. It encouraged the definition of national communications policies, having in mind the potentialities and dangers of the mass media for cultural development.

Tradition is not to be confused with a rejection of scientific and technological progress. Access to modernity should not take place beneath the form of alienation and economic imperialism. Science and technology should be controlled by the user countries and developed in forms adapted to the social and cultural characteristics corresponding to the real needs of populations.

AFRICACULT : Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa (Accra, 27 October-6 November 1975)

At the Accra conference, the idea of cultural identity was highlighted as the historical basis for any process of endogenous development by societies and as the quickest way to recognition of the diversity of cultures. Cultural policies were defined in their organic links with educational, environmental and communications policies and policies for the revalidation of the national heritage. While considering that African cultures must remain open to outside contributions and receptive to the main creative trends of the modern world, the conference nevertheless advocated that the terms of international co-operation be altered so as to foster intercultural dialogue on a basis of fair reciprocity.

Education is the key concept in all problems related to culture. Formal and informal education must be rethought in the perspective of lifelong education. It is above all necessary to study the environment and the people for whom education is being considered so as to avoid the adoption just as they are of foreign models. Education should be critical, creative and liberating, and thus narrow the gap between popular and élite culture. More democratization means more social justice.

AMERICACULT : Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean (Bogotá, 10-20 January 1978)

The Bogotá conference went more deeply into the problems of cultural identity on the basis of the unusual experience of the region, where cultural crossbreeding has produced syncretic cultures with a universal mission. Cultural identity was also seen as correlated with respect for cultural pluralism and the preservation of the heritage. The conference also stated that no cultural policy worthy of the name was possible without special attention to artistic creativity, to the fostering of creative imagination in books and films, to the training of cultural development staffs and to research in the field of cultural policies.

Knowledge about human action on the environment should be a part of children's education, and one of the tasks of the authorities should be to train specialists in cultural development and to make them aware of the consequences of the choices they formulate in fields which they may think are totally distinct from culture.

Third Conference of Arab Ministers of Culture : Baghdad (2-5 November 1981) organized by ALECSO (Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization)

Similar preoccupations were considered at the Conference of Arab Ministers of Culture convened in 1981 by ALECSO. The participants admittedly dealt with questions specific to Arabic culture and to the cultural policies of Member

States, but also tackled more general questions such as the specificity and universality of culture in the world, the right to culture and the cultural dimension of development.

These cultural meetings, bridging the frontiers between Europe, Africa, the Arab world, Asia and Oceania, Latin America and the Caribbean, naturally gave regional, interregional and international cultural co-operation between States its rightful place as one of the prime prerequisites for the maintenance of a fruitful climate of camaraderie, *security and peace in the world.*

All the Unesco conferences stress the need to consider the freedom of choice of creators and of peoples as absolutes which cannot be transgressed, seeing in them the means of placing man at the centre of development.

Communication may be the vehicle of packaged culture or it may transmit endogenous cultural values.

WORLD CULTURAL PROBLEMS: THE CONSTANTS

Thus from one conference to the next and from one cultural area to another certain constants emerge in varying degrees of intensity which illustrate the main topics of world cultural problems as they affect men's hopes and dreams at the time, viz. cultural identity, the cultural dimension of development, cultural rights and the role of imagination and creativity.

The dynamic safeguard of cultural authenticity implies the revaluation and promotion of minority languages and their insertion in States' educational and social systems, as well as the study and promotion of the oral tradition and folk arts.

OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE OF CULTURAL ACTION

Nowadays there is no country in the world without an urge for cultural activity, whatever the level and type of action taken by the government. Many governments are pursuing cultural policies or programmes of cultural activity. The great majority of Member States of Unesco have a ministry or body in charge of cultural affairs, and also more or less substantial and diversified networks of cultural institutions and socio-cultural centres. In some countries, particularly those with a federal constitution, the deliberately limited central structures are complemented by regional and local structures, semi-administrative bodies including professionals and experts which act to foster artistic creativity. There is a great deal of parallel action, though it is not usually integrated in an overall plan.

As regards the objectives, scope and protagonists of cultural action, three main types of policy may be distinguished. The first, the most widespread, stresses the development of the arts at professional level or the preservation of the heritage, the role of the State and the big institutions going unchallenged. The second, the most "advanced" of present-day cultural policies, sets out to link culture with education, communication and the environment. Government action is more directed towards the decentralization of action, decisions and resources, and to getting minorities and the underprivileged to play a bigger part in cultural life, particularly through cultural leadership. At the same time, other administrations begin to take over cultural activities in their own sectors, e.g. youth, education, equipment, health, information and tourism.

The third type of cultural policy, which so far exists only in the form of forward-looking studies or very limited experiments, aims radically to remodel all aspects of development and give them cultural ends, by taking human factors into account. What is regarded as the essential feature is that peoples play a part in creating their own culture, rather than merely having access to the culture of the élite or to the products of mass culture.

A Unesco recommendation, of overrriding importance, proposes to States a sociology of creation, through a critical vision of social reality, artistic creation being considered as the creation of new values. The recommendation attempts to reconcile creative freedom with the economic and social security of the artist.

OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF CULTURAL ACTION

Obviously the great majority of existing situations fall short of the theoretical level reached by key centres in the international community. The internal reasons for this situation are no doubt economic (i.e. small budgets), technical (i.e. lack of facilities or specialized staff and insufficient research and information) or psycho-sociological (i.e. conservatism, bureaucratic influence or failure to appreciate present requirements for creation and participation).

But the real reason for the limitations encountered in most cases seems to be more structural: the lack of a really integrated approach to cultural development and socio-economic development is the fundamental defect of present-day cultural policies, all too often devised and implemented without organic links with policies which could inject a cultural dimension into all major development projects. In fact nearly all cultural policies are in varying degrees limited to the specifically cultural field, and support the big institutions (mainly in the capital cities), the preservation of the historical and artistic heritage, professional creativity and distribution. All too few of them are defined in terms of the whole social spectrum, or incorporate in their thinking the real-life experience, the aspirations and the dreams of the teeming masses.

International cultural co-operation should be thought of in terms of equality and reciprocity, the recognition of cultural diversity implying respect for national independence and sovereignty.

MONDIACULT : World conference on cultural policies Mexico, 26 July-6 August 1982

Now that Mondiacult *is to be convened in Mexico, new life for cultural policies would take the form of energetic theoretical and practical action calculated to mobilize the creative efforts of individuals and groups at all levels of society. Such a vital force could radically revitalize exchanges and specific relations between the members of a given society and between the peoples and nations that make up the international community. In this new atmosphere, economics and politics, the output of goods and services and the symbolic output of ideologies and the arts would all become ways of achieving a cultural life closely linked to daily life and the happiness and fulfilment of individuals and social groups.*

The portents of this transformation in the role of culture in society call upon people wherever they may be to make a qualitative change in their cultural adventure, like the one they made when harnessing the forces of nature. In this way they will bring together the still all too scattered currents of world solidarity in a great world cultural project that will save from the nuclear apocalypse the very roots of a new understanding worthy of each and every man.

Mondiacult *may be this focal point, where those attending the intergovernmental conference convened by Unesco will reach a new view of the world and thus arrive at a decisive change in cultural relations between individuals and between nations.*

The heritage is not only the sum total of historic monuments but the dynamic and living totality of human creation.

From now on, culture can only be seen as a part of a system of relationships: a process of give and take is imperative for each national culture.

The idea is gaining ground that no headway can be made without a consensus. *Unesco has become the promoter of this consensus, of which it intends to be a focal point.*

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

The whole movement included within the concept of the counter-culture has lost many of its adherents, and is frequently considered to have abandoned a good part of its programme. This may be the case, but recent research on the attitudes of young men and women with regard to work and their future, indicates that at least some of its components continue to have an impact.

We turn now to a number of specific issues in connexion with culture contact in the contemporary world which create problems for institutions like Unesco and the United Nations and for all those who agree with them that the variety of human cultures should as far as possible be preserved. These issues take the form of apparent contradictions or paradoxes which require careful consideration.

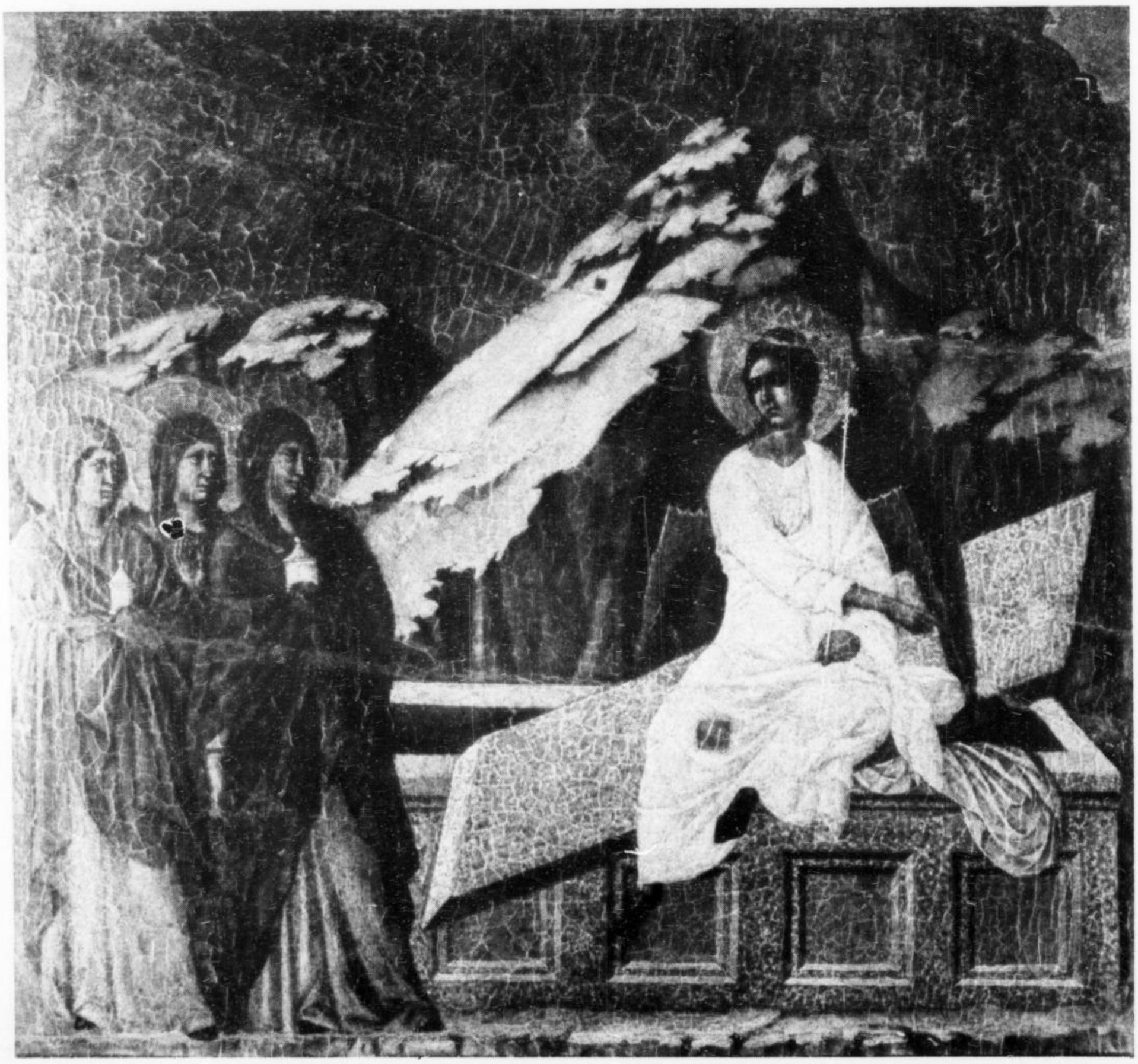
The first of these relates to the general programme of technical assistance or co-operation designed to improve the standard of living in developing countries, but which in practice involves the introduction of industrial and technological models from the "modern", usually the Western world. This, too, reflects the United Nations programme; the question arises as to whether it is compatible with the survival of traditional cultures. The American anthropologist Edward Hall reminds us that the various facets of a culture are interrelated; "touch a culture in one place and everything else is affected." The Australian psychologist Stephen Bochner insists that "there are many examples of societies which have lost their cultural integrity as the price for modernization."

Such "modernization" is, however, precisely what the leaders of the developing countries are requesting. The Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung points out that Third World representatives are urging the creation of "a New International Economic Order (NIEO) to have faster industrialization, increasing exports, better raw material prices, more financial and technological transfers." The question then arises: can this be done without destroying, or at least disrupting, the existing indigenous, traditional culture?

It has frequently been pointed out that there is a tendency in the industrially developed world to see itself as a universally valid model to be imitated by others. In this connexion Galtung analyzes the important question of human needs, their universal and variable character, and the necessity of avoiding cultural ethnocentrism, paying more direct attention to what the recipient societies want, and less to what the donors think they ought to want. What they want may, however, be difficult to determine since the political leaders and the *évolués* in many developing countries have themselves adopted a position close to that of the Western world.

The fact remains that technological change is not always accompanied by the disappearance of traditional culture. There can be no doubt as to the industrial and technical achievement of the Japanese, but at the same time they have retained many distinctively Eastern and national traits. It has been suggested, for example, that their life continues to be affected by the notion of mutual dependence, whereas the West, centred on the individual, tends to develop more self-reliance. In Japan a business enterprise, no matter how large, is seen in the image of a household, with the accompanying interdependence and loyalty characteristic of the family.

There is a second paradox to be considered. The United Nations/Unesco position is in favour of contact among the peoples of the world, and extensive programmes of "exchange of persons" have been developed by both national and international agencies. Bochner, however, in discussing the forces antithetical to cultural preservation, includes international educational exchange "which acts as the main vehicle for the uncritical diffusion of Western culture and therefore the erosion of non-Western life styles."



INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS. ***The real question we ought to ask ourselves is whether, among the patterns of universal character put forward there is one more likely to respect diversity in the overall development scheme. For there are many advantages in diversity and these advantages are not only cultural but also economic. Are there, then, patterns and ideologies which, while necessarily being presented as they are—that is of universal character—are more likely than others to maintain diversity rather than consider it as an obstacle to development, and how can they be applied?***

Left, the three Marys at the tomb; detail from the *Maestà*, the altarpiece for the main altar of the Cathedral of Siena, by the Italian artist Duccio di Buoninsegna (c.1260-1319). Photo © Editions d'Art Albert Skira, Geneva. Right, Malanggan mask from New Ireland, in the Bismarck Archipelago, north of New Guinea (see *Unesco Courier*, October 1979). Photo W. Schneider-Schutz © Ethnological Museum, Berlin (West).

With special reference to Africa, the Kenyan political scientist Ali Mazrui speaks of the university as "the pinnacle of the structure of dependency," and particularly cultural dependency. He considers that this phenomenon is to be found not only in the case of those who go abroad to study but also of those who attended universities within Africa, since these were so often built upon a Western or European model, with little relation to local needs. One has the impression that this situation has recently changed in the direction of greater attention to problems within Africa, but the fact remains that the tools and the language of observation and research have been imported from outside, so that it is difficult to contradict Mazrui's argument that the university frequently leads to cultural dependency. One is reminded of the oft-quoted statement by Frantz Fanon, "To be integrated one must become what one is not, a White."

Bochner attempts to resolve the issue which he has raised concerning the negative effect of international university exchanges by suggesting a change in their orientation. He writes that "Programmes will have to shift their goals explicitly and self-consciously from the present purpose of producing cultural exporters to the aim of training cultural mediators," that is to say, people who have been trained to interpret both cultures to both societies, in the country of sojourn and in the country of origin.

This issue is raised in the volume edited by Ingrid Eide, *Students as Links between Cultures,* which reports the results of research undertaken at the request of Unesco and which finds that such a mediating influence occurs with considerable frequency among students who have attended a foreign university. Our own research also indicates that a substantial proportion of foreign students in a number of countries reported that they felt more positive about their own country after their experience abroad, with only a very small minority indicating that they felt more negative. This suggests that negative attitudes toward one's own culture are not the usual reaction, but the idea that more attention be paid to education for mediation between cultures seems eminently reasonable.

The third and final paradox to be mentioned is that those who advocate cultural pluralism do so for different reasons, and expect from it very different consequences. They may favour it because they respect other cultures. On the other hand, it is illuminating to read what Gluckman, a South African-born anthropologist, has to say about his native country in this connexion. "As a South African anthropologist, I have always been impressed by the fact that in some ways the most sympathetic and even laudatory analyses of indigenous African cultures in South Africa come from studies of scholars who believed in the policy of ethnic segregation. They describe the culture of each African people in an idealistic form—and therein was contained the implication that those cultures were good for the peoples concerned, an essential part of their being, something to which they were entitled and which they should be helped to maintain."

Presumably these cultures were fine if they could be kept at a distance from the White population. It is striking to note that agreement as to the value of maintaining ▶

▶ traditional cultures may be expressive of such different motivations.

It should be clear from what has preceded that the position adopted here is that if ethnic groups wish to keep their culture alive, they should be permitted, even encouraged, to do so. There is, however, one argument which has occasionally been expressed in favour of increasing the homogeneity of cultures, namely, that cultural differences may lead to conflict. In some cases the conflict may be minor, causing annoyance rather than real hostility, but even then acceptance of other groups may be made more difficult. This is because cultural differences tend to create an *us* and *them* psychology.

The major difficulty lies in the general attitude to which reference has already been made, that if *they* differ from *us, they* must be inferior. This is the major impediment to the acceptance of cultural diversity. As Hall puts it, we must "stop ranking either people or talents and accept the fact that there are many roads to truth and no culture has a corner on the path or is better equipped than others to search for it."

There is no easy way to predict future developments in this complex area. The situation may be summarized in terms of two conflicting tendencies. On the one hand, there is the desire on the part of the Third World, particularly its leaders, to profit from the technological competence of industrially advanced countries; the diffusion of Western culture is a consequence. On the other hand, there is a growing concern with keeping cultures alive, marked by the trends toward cultural pluralism, concern about group identity, *négritude*, respect for differences, increased resistance to a cultural imperialism which runs the risk of destroying the variations in ways of life which enrich the human condition.

Changes in the direction of "modernization" will undoubtedly continue, and they are needed in the fight against poverty, illness, infant mortality, illiteracy, the inferior position of women, and the political powerlessness of the mass of the population. The question remains as to how these changes may be introduced while preserving the major aspects of the way of life of the people concerned.

This would involve a better understanding of the meaning and value of cultural variations; knowledge of the needs and aspirations of other ethnic groups; the ability to empathize with others, that is, to imagine ourselves in their position; greater respect for diversity; more willingness to have priorities set by the recipients of aid rather than by the donors; willingness to admit that the way of life which we prefer is not necessarily valid universally.

All of this would require an educational campaign far more extensive than any so far attempted. One of its aspects which should have significant implications is the demonstration of the interdependence of cultures, with the tremendous amount of borrowing and diffusion throughout history.

The American anthropologist Ralph Linton once wrote a convincing article entitled "One Hundred Percent American". He describes a day in the life of an American citizen, the covers of whose bed are of silk (from China), whose breakfast knife is of steel, (first made in South India), who drinks coffee (an Abyssinian plant), and so on. "As he absorbs (in his newspapers) the accounts of foreign troubles, he will, if he is a good conservative citizen, thank a Hebrew deity in an Indo-European language that he is one hundred percent American." French history might be written not only to show what France has contributed to civilization, but also to indicate what the rest of the world has contributed to France. If this variety of interdependence were more widely recognized, we might all be able to overcome the limitations set on our judgment and our attitudes by our particular culture, and to learn that other ways of life may have equal merit and validity.

In any case, it is a safe prediction that although there will be some convergence in the behaviour and values of different societies, cultural variations will persist throughout the world in the foreseeable future. One can only hope that there will also be increased recognition of the value of cultural diversity, and of its contribution to the development of a positive social identity. At the same time there must also be freedom of choice for the individual to retain as much of his ethnic group's culture as he wishes and to take from other cultures what he finds most palatable. Societies have the right to develop their own preferred character, but so does the individual. The search for positive identity is both individual and social.

■ **Otto Klineberg**

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT: SOME REGIONAL EXPERIENCES

(Unesco, 1981, 477 pp.)

CONTAINING contributions from five experts from different regions of the globe, this important Unesco publication presents the essential features of a number of regional experiences in cultural development and highlights the many cultural facets of the peoples of Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, the Arab States and Europe.

In Africa, in a civilization in which religion, art and morals are the driving forces of society, the intrusion of the modern world has often disrupted personal relationships. What new cultural objectives will come to the forefront and how will these match up to the administrative, psychological, aesthetic and social realities of an Africa determined to maintain its traditions and its own personality?

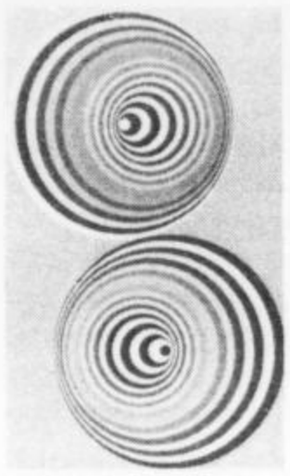
If the notion of cultural identity is of primary importance in African countries, in Latin America and the Caribbean, with their long history of interplay between indigenous populations, Africans and Europeans, there is a heightened awareness of its significance. For Latin Americans identity means, above all, integration and mingling. The establishment of regional agreements and educational services bears witness to a desire for dialogue between cultures, a dialogue for which Latin Americans and the Caribbean peoples are well prepared by the special circumstances of their ethnic intermixture.

Although Japan and China are not included in the review of Asia, it nevertheless covers an immense geographical area which constitutes an astonishing reservoir of values, symbols and traditions derived from history, legend and myth. In the past, despite a multiplicity of ethnic groups, languages, castes, micro-cultures and religions, established patterns of thought provided the basis for a certain cultural coherence, but the establishment of modern States and the imposition of economic priorities have met with institutional as well as social and psychological resistance. In all Asian countries a balance is being sought between the maintenance of cultural authenticity and receptivity to outside influences. Asia must rediscover its ancient pilgrimages and caravan trails but also benefit from the facilities offered by modern communications.

Arab-Muslim culture developed on the foundation of a spiritual unity, but today the religious phenomenon is increasingly being seen as a global sociological phenomenon with differentiated zones to which the age-old influence of certain geographical, linguistic and ethnic factors has imparted distinct, characteristic features. After the advent of the industrial society which has consecrated the primacy of utilitarianism and contributed to the rejection of humanism, the author wonders whether the time has come for a new humanism which will give back to man his physical and spiritual dimensions. Here the spiritualistic and universalizing role of Islamic culture will have a role to play.

In Europe, despite the surprising persistence of cultural traditions among the people, in the countryside and in ways of life, there has been an overwhelming development of uniformizing mass culture. The consequences of this, says the author, are that the general public turns away from a cultural reality which it cannot comprehend and which is divorced from the reality of its own preoccupations. At the same time a high-level culture has developed to some extent but finds itself more and more confined within a sophisticated experimentation accessible only to initiates. Social, economic and educational inequalities and the new means of communication are factors whose impact will have a strong influence in determining cultural policies.

All these regional experiences tend to the conclusion that cultural development has become a primordial demand of both States and peoples and that the enhancement and recognition of cultural diversity can only result in a better, more evenly balanced world.



AT THE
CROSS-ROADS
OF CULTURES

The writer between two worlds

by Tahar Ben Jelloun

THE Third World intellectual must live with a terrible fact: over 80 per cent of people in the Third World can neither read nor write. No magic wand can be waved to alter their plight; it will be a long, hard struggle which will call on men and women with a real determination for change. As for the poet, he is concerned by the plight of the humiliated, whether he experiences humiliation at first hand or as an observer. And to be excluded from reading and writing is possibly the deepest wound that material poverty and political cynicism can inflict on a man.

Is it not a paradox to write in a continent of illiterates? "No," says the Mexican writer Carlos Fuentes, "it is not as paradoxical as it may seem. Perhaps the writer knows that he is working to keep alive a relationship with a past which has rarely found its political equivalent."

A literature in which many poor and dominated peoples find a recognizable picture of themselves has come from a single fissure etched in the warm and human earth of Latin America. The waifs and strays of Bogotá are part of the same wound as the urchins of Cairo and the *shayatin* ("little devils") of Casablanca. A peasant dispossessed of his land has the same dreams whether he lives in north Africa or northeast Brazil; the same imagination broken by injustice, forbidden to express itself, thwarted by a tragic fate.

Once he has resisted blandishments and pressures, the writer born of this reality cannot accept that a dispossessed peasant should be left to live what political and military authorities call a reasonable life. Whether he likes it or not, the writer will be pursued unremittingly by this anonymous crowd of urchins who have been deprived of a childhood and who pour scorn on innocence, of men and women debarred from a life of dignity and freedom.

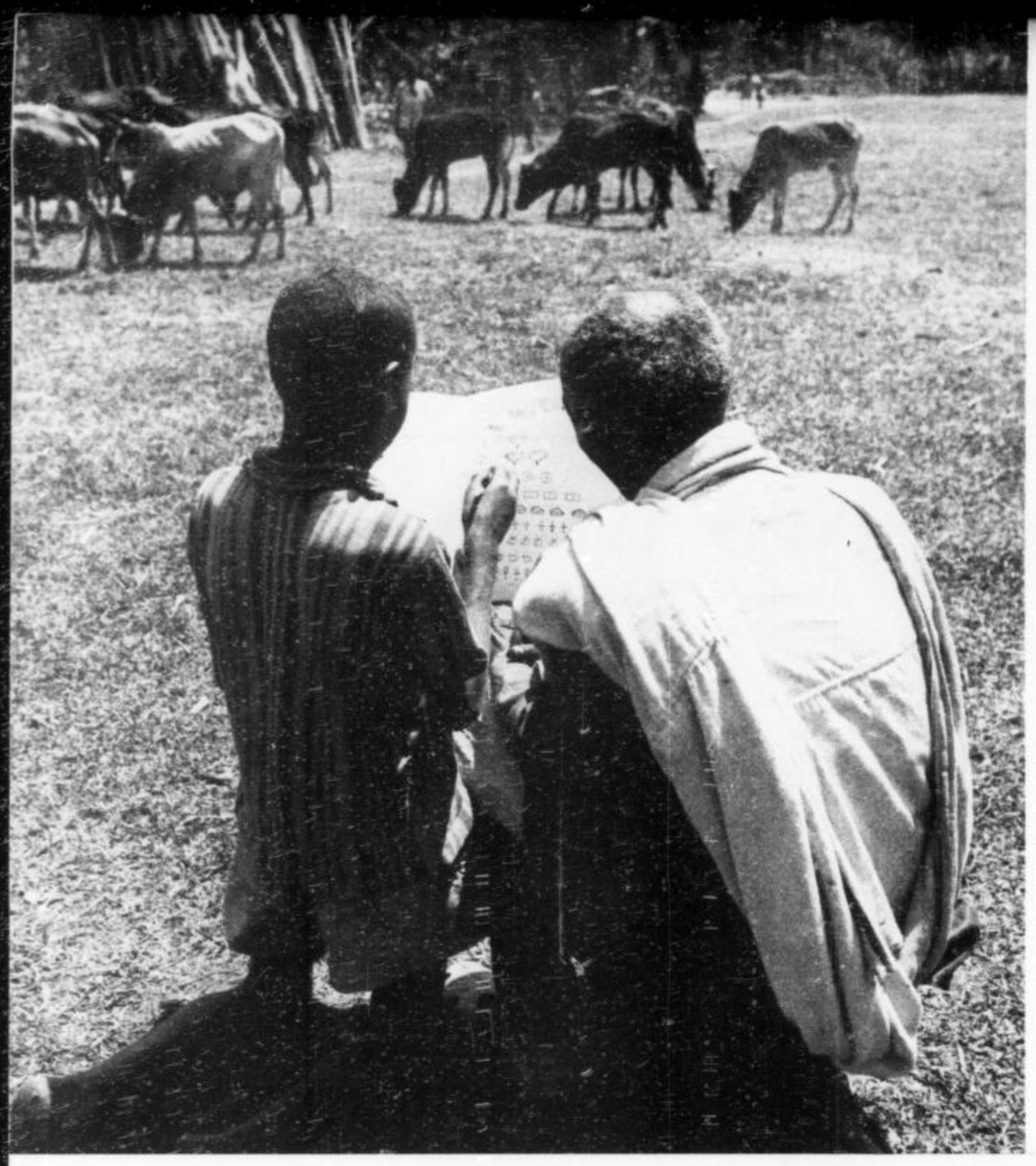
Whether silent or muzzled, this crowd appeals to the writer, not in order to flatter him but to make him listen. Who if not he will report on this clamour of fury? This is a fundamental reason why a writer should write, even if he will not be read by the crowd which cries out to him.

It is possible not to write, not to respond to this pressing demand, not to hear the silenced voice, to look elsewhere, to be wrapped up in one's own trivial problems. It is quite possible for the writer to turn down this "mission". He may think that the fate of the people from whence he came is no concern of his. He may even aspire to become a member of the dominant class. But it does sometimes happen that the writer feels concerned, and questions his writing to ▶

LITERACY AND EDUCATION

Illiteracy is no longer the unhappy prerogative of the developing countries, as certain industrialized countries are beginning to realize that they are suffering from a relapse into illiteracy; but as we all know the map of illiteracy coincides almost exactly with that of poverty and that in the 25 least-developed countries the proportion of illiterates still exceeds 80 per cent. Despite the prodigious efforts made by so many countries of the Third World in the field of education, it is estimated that in 1980 there were still 322 million children in the world between the ages of 6 and 17 not attending school, and a world total (excluding China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) of 814 million illiterates.

Photo International Labour Office, J.P. Laffont © Sygma, Paris.



LITERACY AND EDUCATION. ***It is to be hoped that by adopting new structures, new admission procedures and new methods such as teaching by correspondence, by radio or by television, universities will open their doors wider to a new range of students, many of whom will not have been able to follow a normal academic career. It is to be hoped that they will organize meetings or seminars to inform and instruct the different social groups and wide sections of the population and that they will also play an active role in literacy campaigns, working side by side with the population, which will, more often than not, be a rural population, in the national development effort.***

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Unesco are helping the Government of Ethiopia to establish a functional literacy project for adults. Here a young boy is teaching his father to read with the aid of a textbook prepared and distributed under the project. Photo Garraud, Unesco.

▶ the point that he writes no more about this reality. Fuentes comments on this: "To abstain from writing would be to accept defeat, and one need only walk through the streets of Bogotá, Mexico City or Lima to know that Latin America has drunk almost to the dregs the cup of defeat."

"A continent of illiterates" has a greater need of writers than a continent sated with knowledge. Writing here is a refusal to accept defeat. For Fuentes it also means banking on liberty: "It means saying to yourself in the intimacy of the act of writing that it is imperative to keep alive the culture of the past, without which we have neither a real present nor an intelligible future; all this in the knowledge that we shall not achieve concrete results, we shall not change the world by writing ten books or a thousand, and we shall receive no reward."

And so we have this gamble on liberty and on the future, for this continent will not always be afflicted by the inevitability of illiteracy. Those who come later, perhaps the children of this period, will be entitled to call us to account. The writer will have to declare his books or his silence.

Writing cannot be a soft option, for there is so much want and deprivation in our societies. The writer must be an all-purpose figure. The real world cries out for his attention. So many appeals call for a response. He is needed in so many fields. He must show ingenuity and patience, for he was born among people who are sick of words. He must listen and he must act to satisfy the immediate need. This writer will be regarded as a journalist, lawyer, go-between, trade union spokesman, spokesman of a cause, public writer, prophet of hard times, a man involved in all his country's struggles, a symbol, a myth, a social worker, and his country's ambassador in the firmament of letters... The list is never-ending.

Everything remains to be done in these countries castigated by history, where ideologies come up against a complex reality which is more overwhelming and unexpected than any fiction, in which imported models crumble or remain unused, their claims to universality intact. The writer is expected to be permanently on call, open to everything which shakes up and galvanizes this poor soil pregnant with millions of dreams, tales and images. He is not only required to be a political militant making an impact on society; he must also be a poet, a creator, fertilized by this soil and by this people.

The commitment of the artist implies solving his country's problems at the same time as creating a work of art. This still has a meaning in countries which are confronted with life-and-death problems, not intellectual fads. In this respect the Peruvian writer Mario Vargal Llora has noted something which is valid not only for Latin America but for the Third World as a whole. "Elsewhere, to be a writer means primarily and often exclusively, assuming a personal responsibility for a body of work which, if artistically valid, will enrich the culture of the country in which it is created. In Peru and in other Latin American countries, to be a writer means primarily, and often exclusively, assuming a social responsibility." There is virtually no escape from assuming the function. If you turn your back on this imperative, if you retreat into isolation, if you refuse to become involved

LITERACY AND EDUCATION. ***In the developing countries that have recently gained their independence, under the lingering influence of systems inherited from the colonial period, education still often fails to some extent to match the real situations and needs. In many of those countries, the question of the language of instruction is still unsettled, even in primary school, and the use of curricula to maintain and reinforce cultural identity is an acute problem.***

Young pupils in a Mexican school. Photo © Marino Benzi.

in the life of the people, if you withdraw into selfish solitude, it is often taken as an avowal by the writer that he is not committed, so that he is accused because of his silence and his remoteness of complicity with the forces of oppression. Not to denounce injustice, to be silent, is unthinkable for a writer mandated to speak out and write by a continent of illiterates. Literature is expected to be useful, operational and versatile in its functions, roles and powers. Literature takes its cue from science, just as it makes inroads on ideology. It becomes an activity in the service of truth.

If this conception of literary activity relates to reality by making the writer a repository of information with his eyes fixed on the outside world, then it causes a major misunderstanding. For the main thing is forgotten, namely how to write, how to create.

Should we then go far in the other direction and regard literature as a pure stylistic exercise or a lifeless *tour de force?* The vogue for the French *nouveau roman* opened up several possibilities for the renewal of academic writing, but it also stripped literature of flesh and blood. When I read I love to feel behind the words a stretch of land, a breathing body, life going on somewhere. In some novels, however, the belated products of this fashion, the sterility of the text corresponds to a social situation in which land and body have perhaps ceased to breathe.

There is a widespread misunderstanding about where the writer's commitment lies. To militate in a political party or organization is one thing; to write while taking part in politics as well is another. The one does not exclude the other. But it is rare that the two combine in such a way as not to be mutually harmful and do not create confusion and misunderstandings. One does not have to be an artist to feel concerned by what breaks and stifles the voice of a people. This is a matter for concern of every citizen who refuses submission and resignation. If he also happens to be a writer, then so much the better, for in principle he has the means, however limited, to put up a better resistance to barbarism and to participate through his work as a writer in affirming his people's culture, which is itself threatened over a period of time with asphyxia, abduction and death.

As for the writer who deliberately chooses to live in exile, he leaves far behind him the prevailing stagnation, the temptation to bitterness and inactivity. He sets out alone, neither adventurer nor hero but someone who decides to set his eyes on other horizons, at his own risk. Whatever he does is bound to be wrong! If exile leads to nothing, he is wrong. If exile brings him success, he is wrong. The child who leaves his family connexions by the wayside is not forgiven. He will not be pardoned for many things, and whatever happens an effort will be made to make him feel guilty, to make him feel that he is a bit of a traitor, especially if he succeeds in being a productive creative artist. He will be blamed for having it too easy. He will be the target of ambivalent and often unchanging feelings, nourished by a host of vague and obscure ideas.

But voluntary exile, the need to go elsewhere to encounter other realities and other worlds, is preferable to marking time, which is often the prelude to a slow death, sterility, desiccation and self-absorption. Others would say, "It's better to mark time with your own people than to take refuge abroad." And so the question should be defined in political terms, not in affective and moral terms.

Why have so many writers and artists from our countries felt the need at one time or another to leave their own country in order to live and work, temporarily or permanently, in another society? Why have they been able to create elsewhere? Is it not because in other countries they have found conditions and structures propitious for writing, painting, meeting other people, exchanging ideas, in a word, for communication? Have they not found elsewhere what is most lacking in their own country: rivalry, a critical spirit, freedom, the sense of difference that stimulates creativity? Of course, it may be countered, but why not create these conditions, these basic structures, in one's own country? True, it is *a priori* easier to leave than to stay. For staying is not an easy option; one must fight, often alone, against oppression, against the ugliness and weight of bureaucracy. The artist must fight to avoid the snare held out by those who want to entice him on to their side and use him to their own ends. He must struggle with himself, and resist all kinds of temptations, discouragement, fatigue and indifference. Mediocrity becomes dangerous when it takes root, becomes accepted, and spreads. It is contagious. The energy and the instinct to react are lost.

So the writer should remain vigilant and continue to believe in his creative powers. He should barricade himself against the outside world, confining himself to an almost schizophrenic universe which may ultimately be his only solution. He should take refuge in an inner exile, withdraw from immediate reality, fight to survive and create his own working environment. But all this often means that he loses the power to use words. Inner exile also means losing oneself in social gossip, in drink, in oblivion, in a slow decline into narcissism.

To be far away does not necessarily mean to be absent. To go away is another way of establishing links with one's land and people. This kind of exile may be fruitful, or at any rate not systematically negative. It is not the writer who lives in exile who should be pilloried, but the political structure which respects neither his difference nor his freedom. Wherever it is produced, the work of a writer or an artist returns in one way or another to the land of its origin.

But when exile becomes a way of thinking and of becoming ensnared in the toils of an unhappy conscience, when it severs a man from his deepest roots, when it becomes an end in itself and submerges the individual in a set of problems which ought not really to concern him, then exile becomes alienation. It returns to the mother country another person, often a stranger who has lost the capacity of wonder: a wreck apparently in good health.

■ **Tahar Ben Jelloun**

National identity and foreign domination

by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o

THE crisis of culture in the developing world has too often been seen in terms of tradition and modernity, the rural and the urban, and the conflict of cultures consequently engendered by that dichotomy. In this schema, the urban (industry, technology, electronics) is identified with modernity, the rural (subsistence agriculture, economic backwardness) with tradition.

But ironically, the same modernity is supposed to evoke images of fast changes, instability, and human isolation, while tradition evokes contrary images of peace, stability, and communal existence. Rampant urbanization and industrialization are seen as destroying a harmony of values embodied in tradition whose repository is the rural community. Thus the false glitter of the electronic culture is seen as luring an unwary ▶

▶youth away from the stability of a communal life in a rural village into the chaos and loneliness of life in the big city.

It is all there in written literature. The peasant who follows the mirage of prosperity and happiness in the big city only to find the opposite is a familiar character in many a novel from the developing world. What often is not stated is that such a character is actually escaping from the hell of rural poverty and misery into the Hades of urban poverty and misery, in both cases brought about by ruthless exploitation. But even where this is stated, the schema of rural urban dichotomy as the basis of analysis of the problems of culture in developing countries remains, and the crisis of culture is still seen in terms of a conflict between tradition and modernity.

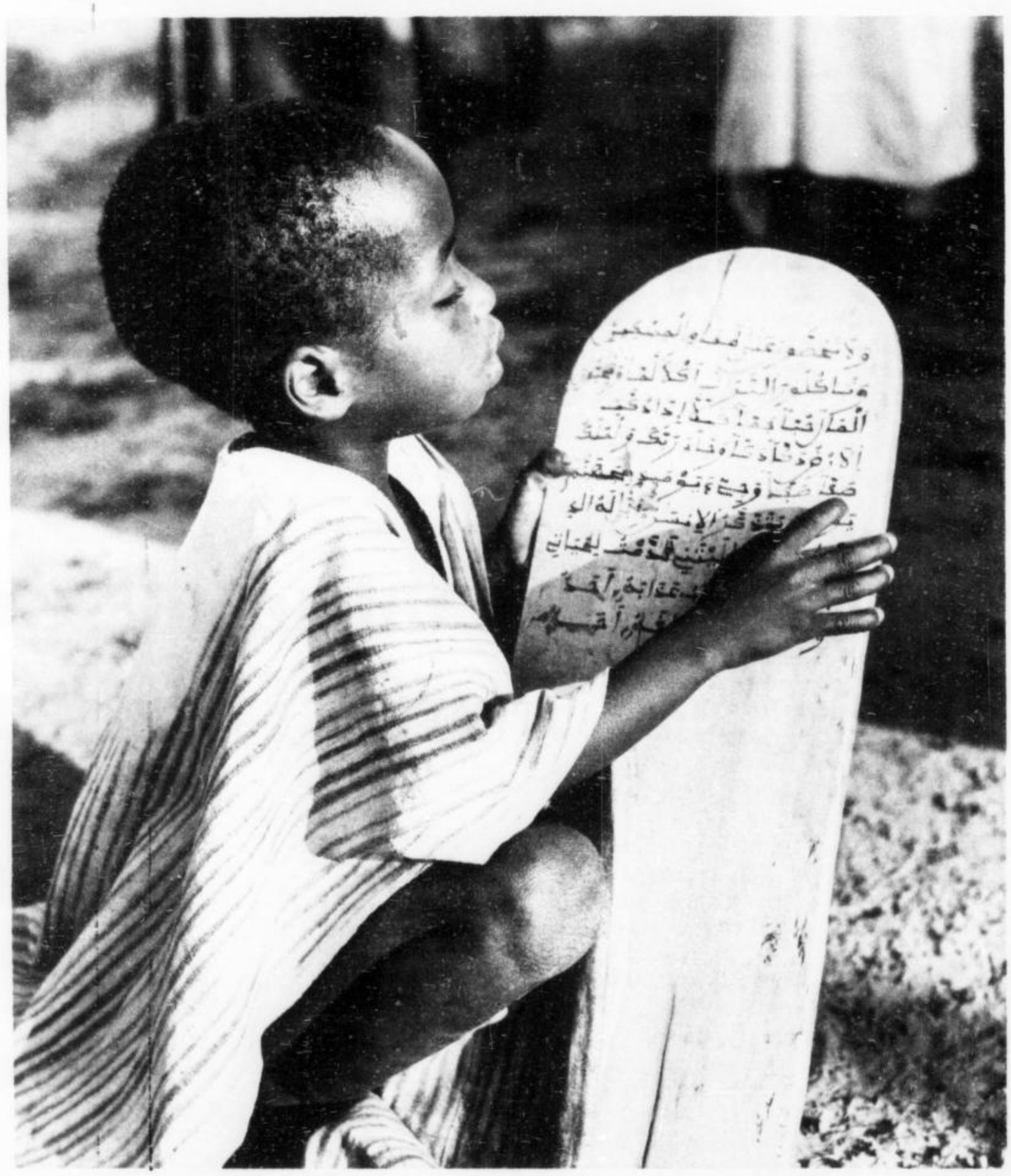
Two misleading assumptions underlie the schema. Modern industry, science and technology are seen as being opposed to tradition and peasant cultures. The destruction of tradition or aspects of tradition and peasant culture is seen as necessarily evil. The beauty of rural culture must rest on a foundation of poverty and abject want. But surely modern science and technology, depending on their organization, ownership and control, now make possible a total economic transformation of the countryside and thus the erection of a whole people's culture on a structure of prosperity instead of backwardness.

Moreover, far from destroying tradition, modern technology (e.g. Video, Cinema, Television, Radio) makes possible a reclamation of the positive aspects of tradition and peasant cultures. Africa for instance has a rich tradition of oral literature. Take the tale, for instance. The oral narrative was often accompanied by mime and song. With video, film, or television, it is now possible to reclaim this tradition through an integration of the visual (e.g. animated cartoons) and the verbal (i.e. the voice telling the tale and the accompanying music).

The same is true in theatre. African peasant theatre relied heavily on song, dance and mime, and these can now be permanently captured on the screen. Thus not only is it possible to democratize access to this heritage—more people can be told the tale at the same time—but even more crucial, it is possible to integrate the national cultures within the geographic State.

The other assumption is that the rural and the urban are two self-contained islands and a character who walks from one to the other is actually journeying across two unlinked entities. But the two are a creation of each other. The urban is a creation of the rural as much as the rural is a creation of the urban. The peasantry had to be alienated from the soil and be driven into towns, that is, they had to be proletarianized before the modern city could be born. But where under feudal and semi-feudal systems, the town was under the sway of the countryside, the modern city which emerged with capitalism, the city of gold, became the master of the rural of which it had been born and bred.

> "The bourgeoisie", Marx wrote of nineteenth-century Europe, "has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent upon



LITERACY AND EDUCATION. ***Writing has been without doubt the most radical and creative of man's inventions. Not because it could be said, by itself, to be synonymous with culture for there exist rich oral cultures, and all written cultures are partially composed of orally transmitted traditions, but because writing adds to culture a fundamental dimension. This is the possibility of infinite self-enrichment and the capacity for abstraction through which a culture can both adapt constantly to change, while preserving the most characteristic features of its heritage, and establish, beyond the limits of time and space, a constant flow of communication with others. Whereas oral tradition is a means of passing on a cultural heritage, only the written word can make that heritage bear fruit. But with the introduction of machinery, the implements of work become a stronger determining factor than manpower in the productive process because they incorporate more and more scientific and technological elements, and this creates insuperable obstacles for the illiterate population. Complex machinery remains a closed world to them. Thus literacy must count as one of the few basic, irreducible needs of modern man simply because it governs his access to progress.***

Top left, the Corbie Psalter, a 9th-century illuminated manuscript, now in the Municipal Library, Amiens. (Photo Belzeaux-Zodiaque © Rapho, Paris). Left, pupil at a Koranic school at Timbo, Guinea. (Photo © Dominique Darbois, Paris). Above, Solid gold Persian plaque, 50 cm × 50 cm, dating from the 5th century BC, commemorates, in three languages, the founding of Babylon. (Photo © Luc Joubert, Paris). Below, Students at a school in Tokyo prepare banners for the New Year celebrations. (Photo Tamagawa Gakuen, Unesco).

towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West".

With the evolution of capitalism into the higher stage of imperialism, the rural and urban sectors of the nations of peasants became even more subjected to the rule of the nations of bourgeoisie, and with what results: the subject nations—the majority of the population—were now reduced to the idiocy of the new urban and rural life.

This subjection of the nations of peasants to the nations of bourgeoisie is the heart of the matter when discussing problems of the developing countries—economic, political or cultural.

But by posing the problems of culture in the developing world in terms of a conflict between modernity and tradition, between the rural and the urban, thus concentrating on secondary contradictions, we are avoiding the real issues behind the crisis. What are the real forces behind modernity and tradition, the urban and the rural? We have, in other words, to see the whole problem (modernity, tradition, rural, urban) in a historical perspective.

This would reveal to us that the major contradiction in the Third World is between national identity and imperialist domination. The developing world with its economic, political and cultural backwardness, its massive poverty, illiteracy and disease, is a creation of imperialism in its colonial and neo-colonial stages. The developing world can in fact be defined as all those countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America which have been underdeveloped by imperialism, those countries whose economy, politics and culture have been and continue to be dominated by Western imperialist nations. This in essence means the economic, political and cultural subjection of the whole population of the dominated countries to the ruling bourgeois classes of the dominating nations.

> "The bourgeoisie", wrote Marx and Engels, "by the rapid development of all instruments and production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarian's intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image".

A world after its own image: this it tried to achieve not only through economic exploitation and political subjugation but more importantly, through cultural domination.

But the process created its opposite: the economic, political and cultural struggle for national independence and total liberation. In the colonies and neo-colonies, there in fact emerged two cultures in mortal conflict: foreign imperialist cultures and national patriotic cultures. Thus there emerged, out of the different nationalities often inhabiting one geographic State, a people's literature, music, dance, theatre, art, in ▶

▶fierce struggle against foreign literature, theatre, music, art imposed on colonies, semi-colonies and neo-colonies.

This to me is still the real and fundamental conflict of cultures: a national patriotic culture in struggle against foreign imperialist cultures. Other contradictions, between the urban and the rural, between the different nationalities, are secondary and can only be properly appreciated within the context of the larger, basic contradiction.

In this war of cultures, the people try to find their roots in the patriotic traditions of their culture mostly kept alive by the peasantry in their songs, poems, theatre and dances. The foreign imperialist culture tries to find a stronghold in the cities masquerading under notions of modernity and progress.

This is not an accident. The native bourgeoisie through which imperialism works in the colonies and neo-colonies dwells in the city. Very often it controls the State instruments of copersuasion and propaganda. In their State-controlled theatres, cinemas, T.V. stations, radio, they only allow foreign programmes, while in the education system they advocate the use of foreign languages, and the study of foreign literature only. The impoverished, exploited peasantry dwells in the countryside. That is why the struggle between national and foreign cultures appears on the surface as a conflict between the rural and the urban, or between tradition and modernity.

But what is really modern is the new national cultures emerging out of the struggle for total liberation, a culture rooted in the patriotic and heroic traditions of the people. This is better seen in the resistance poetry and songs and theatre among workers in the urban areas of the developing world. It is a fighting culture, a resistance culture, and though fusing different elements, it is in basic harmony with the resistance culture of the countryside. The urban and the rural struggles find this harmony in their opposition to both foreign imperialist exploitation and domination and internal exploitation and oppression. The urban worker and the rural peasant are the basis and creators of truly national cultures in the developing world.

What then is the crisis of culture in Africa and in the developing world as a whole?

The real crisis of culture in Africa is still the imperialist domination of our economy, politics and culture—no country can consider itself free as long as its economy and culture are dominated by foreigners.

A pre-requisite of Africa's cultural development is therefore a continued struggle for its economic and political liberation from all vestiges of imperialism. This also means a continued struggle against the comprador ruling class through whom imperialism continues to dominate the lives of millions of peasants and workers of the developing world.

A new world economic and political order would mean a new world cultural order and this would see the flowering of a great modern culture in Africa and the rest of the developing world, a culture that has roots in the dynamic progressive aspects of a national tradition while remaining open to the progressive and humanist cultural element all over the world.

■ **Ngugi Wa Thiong'o**

The machinery of cultural power

by Augusto Roa Bastos

WHEN it comes to the philosophy and practice of cultural power, the niceties of literary creation count for little. No question of getting tied up in superfluous classifications. The publicity apparatus of cultural power can raise up mediocrity and creative nullity to the level of apparent virtues of the first order.

Within this cosmic vision of profit, a book is a book. And with each "successful" book all of literature is originated, born daily. In certain cases, it is not the intrinsic merits of a text which matter, but the epic of its launching, its promotion and dissemination in the most complete gamut of possible combinations. Sometimes—nearly always in fact—the promoters and vendors of such *best-sellers* show more imagination than their authors. Indeed, the best-seller industry itself could serve as a hypertrophied example of the manipulation of the publishing industry by cultural power—an example which, to a greater or lesser extent dominates the world literary market.

As is the case with the activities of the multinationals in other fields, cultural power (a semantic barbarism which points to its depredatory origins) sets up its autonomous rules within imperial metropolises, ignoring or crossing frontiers and political barriers as if they were so much smoke or, alternately, making use of them. Both in this connexion and in the similarity of their goals—conquest of markets, profit and economic and political domination—the now classic model of arms-selling gives an approximate idea of the way in which multinationals operate as a cultural power.

In the case of the book industry itself, from the head offices in metropolitan centres to the network of subsidiaries located in the strategic centres of peripheral cultures, it is cultural power which dictates the rules of the game.

As a result, the oldest, most solid and most prestigious publishing concerns (publishers, publishing and distribution outlets, the old and noble profession of the bookseller as guide and mentor of readers, library systems, the production of educational text-books, specialized institutions, foundations, etc.) are annexed, blocked, or subjected to its investment dictates. It participates in, controls or takes over all of the media (cinema, radio, television, written press) which can contribute to the expansion of its business, as well as subsidiary con-

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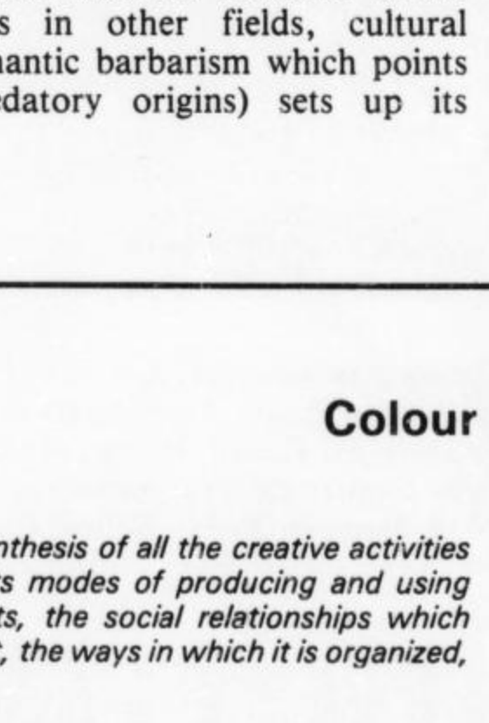
Colour pages

Culture is a synthesis of all the creative activities of a people, its modes of producing and using material objects, the social relationships which prevail within it, the ways in which it is organized, its conquests and defeats, its joys and sorrows, its sufferings, its beliefs, and its artistic and literary creations, whether these are written down or, as in the oral civilizations, transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation.

Colour pages illustrate various aspects of the notion of culture.



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HUMAN SETTLEMENTS **(1)**: New York

LANGUAGE **(2)**: Japanese TV announcer

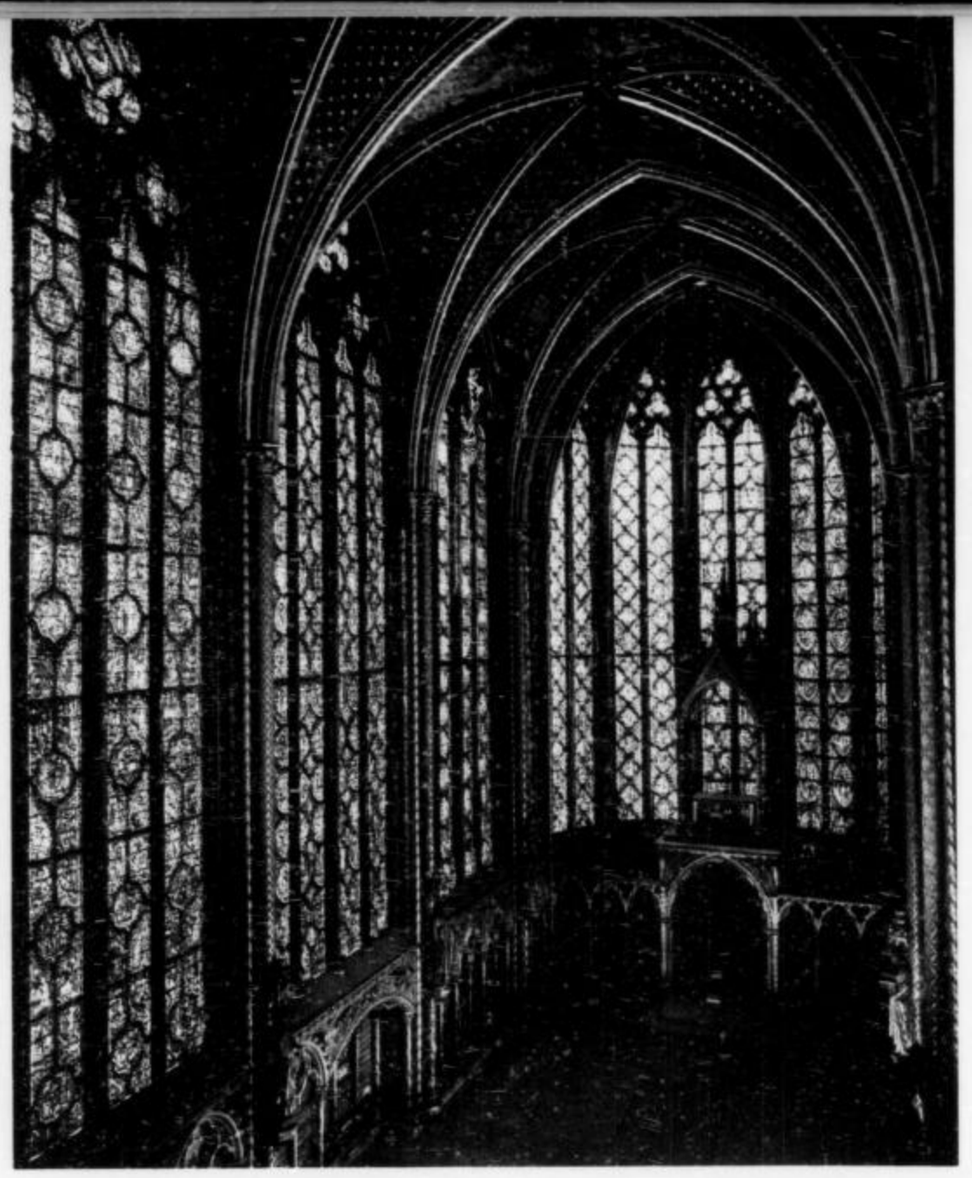
MYTHS **(3)**: *Sleeping male maam,* painting on bark by the aborigine artist Namatbara, Croker Island, Australia (H. 75 cm, W. 56.5 cm). Museum of African and Oceanic Art, Paris

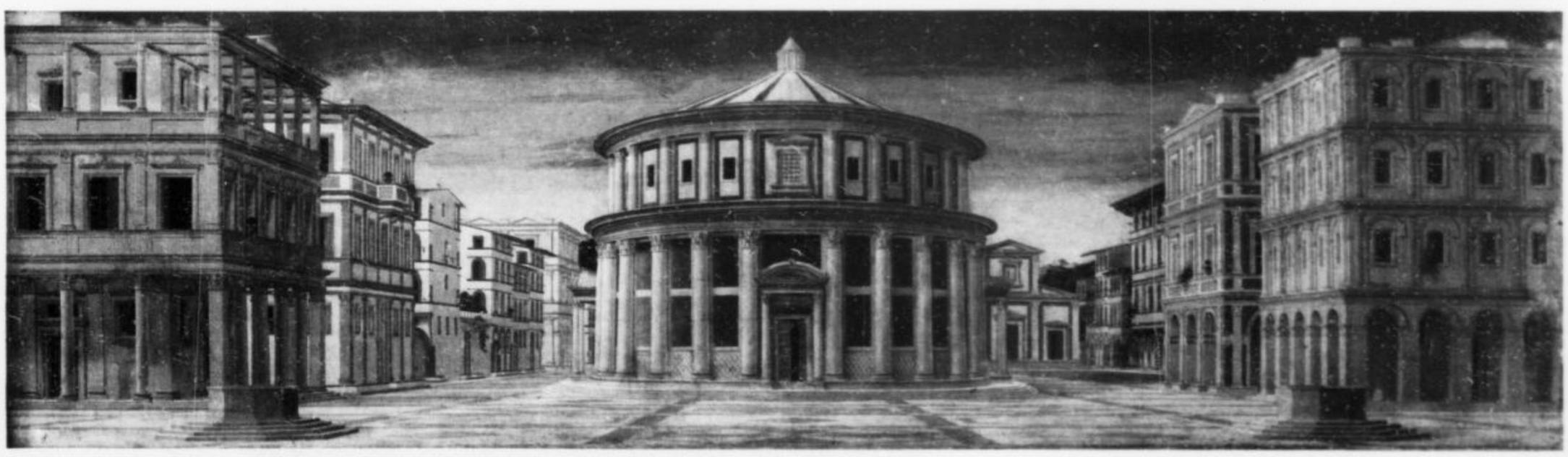
RELIGIOUS STATUS **(4)**: Buddhas in the Dambulla grotto (Sri Lanka). 3rd century BC

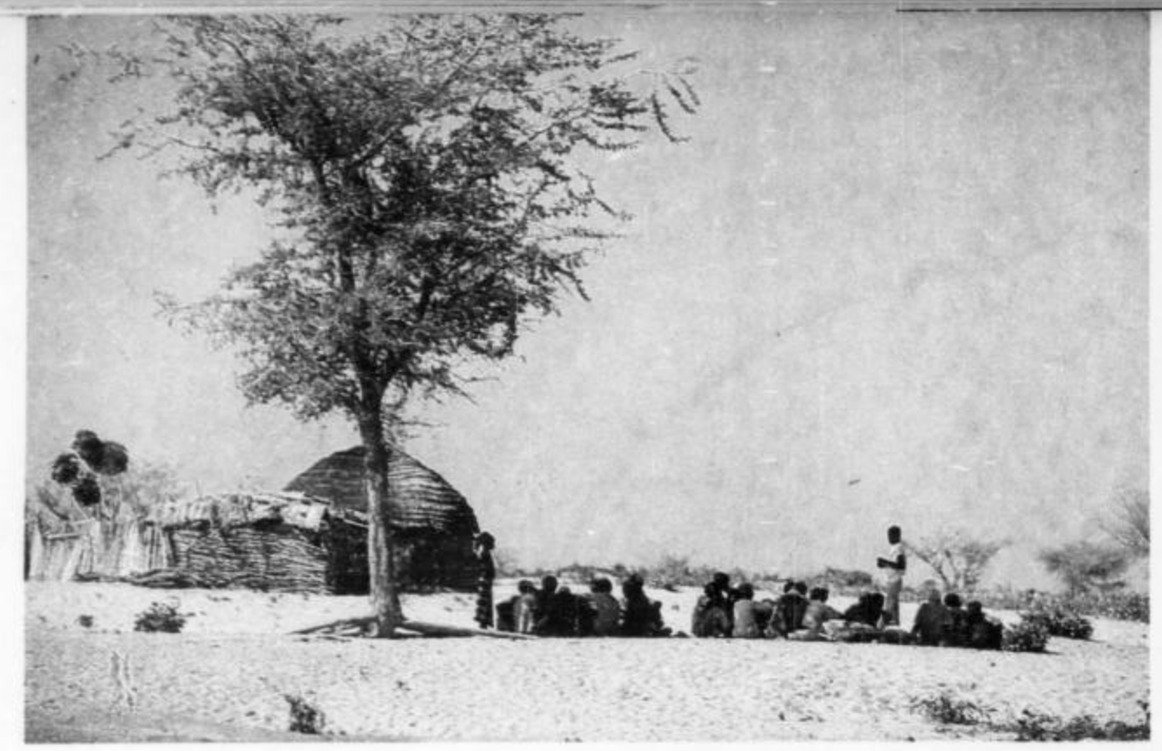
ORAL TRADITION **(5)**: Griot or "public entertainer" (United Republic of Cameroon)

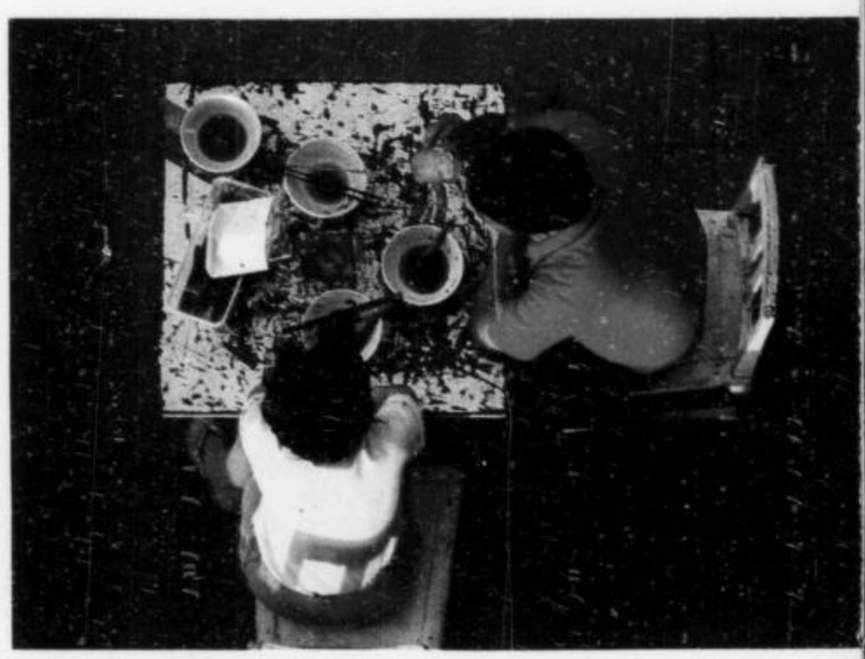
TRADITIONAL TECHNIQUES **(6)**: Statue designed to show trainee doctors the "points" of acupuncture (China)

SEXUALITY **(7)**: Couple (thermography)
FAMILY LIFE **(8)**: A Peruvian family









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cerns such as the paper and printing industries. It also has at its disposal the arsenal of modern technology (computers, data banks, etc.), the main branches of which form part of its complex industrial network.

In the so-called peripheral countries, cultural power has almost totally eliminated the independent publishing houses which strove to maintain a balanced exchange between national and foreign literatures.

In such conditions the operative strategy of cultural power, its philosophy of action, determines taste on the basis of statistics. Indeed, the distinctive mark of a culture can be made to change to serve its interests. The best-seller industry already referred to illustrates the extent of the devastating influence which has changed the modes and values of a conception and tradition of book-culture in a number of countries which rank among the most important in the world. Nevertheless, it should not be thought that its privileged monopoly status has made cultural power something which is pyramidal in form and importance. Its real potential is rooted in the idea of competition between equals, in its capacity to associate itself with other forces, to elaborate itself indefinitely, to infiltrate everywhere.

The objective of these consortia is not dispersion but ever greater concentration. This also holds true for their assets in dependent countries. The increasing bankruptcies of independent publishing houses, the appearance and disappearance of others which emerge and act as fronts or dissuasive elements are a sure sign that multinationals are running the show.

An independent publisher—one of the few who still fights the battle for a just and harmonious relationship between authors, publishers and the public in the territory of book activity occupied by multinationals—was able to confirm the following, well-founded facts: "The way the current system works (in terms of its penetration by multinationals) simply favours the entry into the market of the large publishing houses which are themselves subsidiaries of transnational complexes. These multinational enterprises find a very large potential market, a public avid for reading material, and using their vast experience they produce an unlimited administrative and financial infrastructure and an international distribution network".

In the case of Latin-American cultures which are to a lesser or greater degree dependent, what is at stake is more than a certain statistic concerning taste. It is the very integrity of these cultures which is threatened and, within them, the development of literatures which are the expression of their unity and identity in spite of the inequalities, the lack of synchronization and the absence of communication which characterizes our cultural destiny.

The synthesis of these imbalances is effected, or has been effected, by the dialectical process involving culture and society, tradition and the avant-garde, the local and the universal. However, if such a synthesis is to be truly fertile, it must be effected along the lines of force of a common process, that is to say, along the lines of force of our unity and identity, of our Spanish-American character.

To talk in terms of a process implies recognition of the existence of a set of correlations and shared variations in constant mutation: the interpretation of the vital rhythms of communities united by a common language and subjected to the same or analogous historical imperatives. So it is that the well-worn concept of *identity* ceases to be an idealistic and "ideologized" abstraction and comes to express correctly not the invariables of an unchanging and inward-looking reality, but the coherence of this conjuncture of relationships in non-stop transformation.

Identity is thus *unity in continuity* of a characterological complex which defines its essence in action, the features of its physical and spiritual personality in its plans, successes and failures, and in its manner of facing factors extraneous to its nature, while at the same time assimilating those which seem constructive and enriching, whatever their source. In other words, it refuses a passive and blind acceptance of dominant cultures.

In this connexion, cultural colonialism is not only an imposition, it is also a dazzling fascination, a compulsive need to imitate the prestigious seigneurial and imperial standards and forms. To be dominated culturally is to be seduced. At times raped. The old dispute as to whether the effects of the dominant influences of central cultures on surrounding ones are formative or deforming has been settled by the cultural facts themselves.

These facts are deforming in the sense that local cultures see servitude to the forms, models, procedures and customs of the central cultures as an imposition or a joy. They are enriching on condition that the local cultures react critically and convert them into catalyzers of their own spirit and character. It is not a question either of the extreme opposite—of absurdly restoring the indigenous cultures and of sinking into the ▶

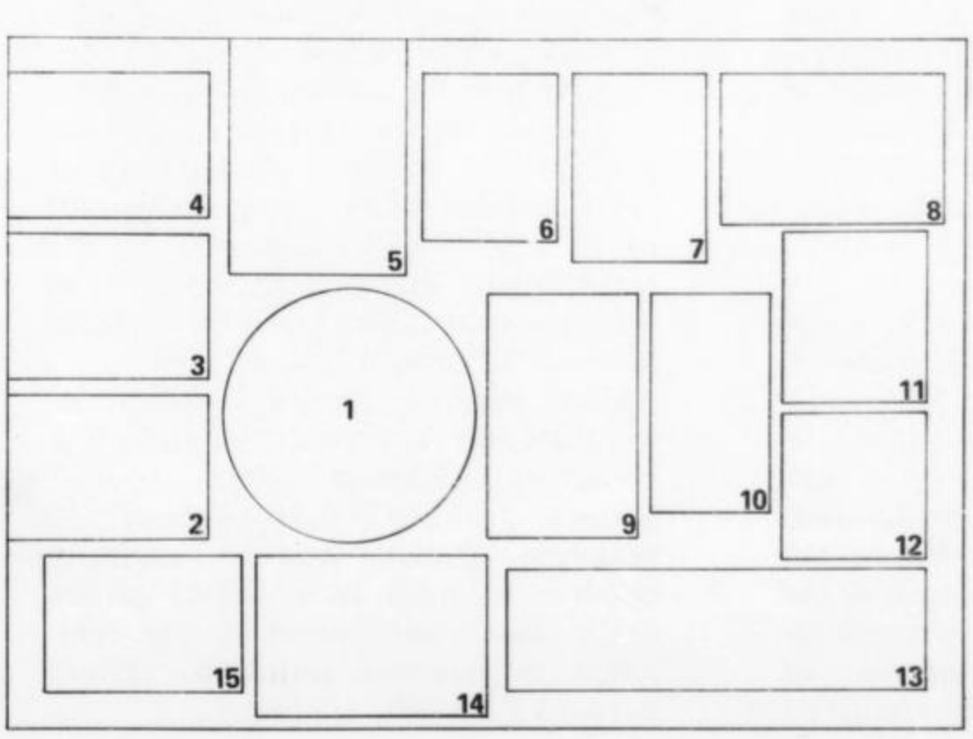
Colour pages 24-25

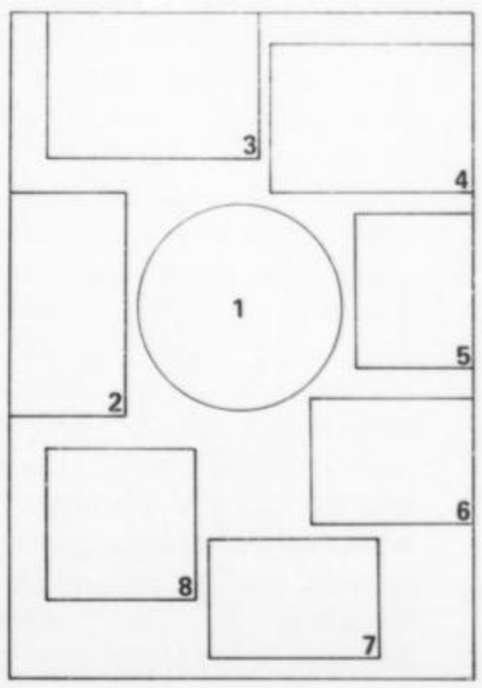
ARTISTIC TRADITION

(1) The English pop singer Mick Jagger during a concert
(5) The Sainte Chapelle, Paris (13th century)
(6) Scene painted for an illustrated edition of the Arab manuscript the *Maqamat* by Al-Hariri, one of the most striking works of the Baghdad school (634AH/1237AD). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
(8) *Lyric (Man on Horseback),* 1911, oil on canvas (H. 94.5 cm, W. 130 cm) by Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944). Boymans van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam
(9) *Mukishi wa pwo* mask of the Chokwe people (H. 23 cm). Wood, plant fibres and *tukuta* (a red wood powder). (Zaïre)
(10) Woman decorating a house at Oualata (Mauritania)
(11) Buddhist monks provide the music at the Paro Tsechu festival (Bhutan)
(13) Architectural project for an ideal city by the Tuscan painter Piero della Francesca (1406-1492). Part of an altarpiece, Urbino (Italy)
(14) Ashanti craftsmen at the village of Anhniaa (Ghana)

THE HISTORICAL DIMENSION

(2) Painting on parchment (H. 9cm, W. 11cm). Ethiopia, 17th century
(3) Gorée (Senegal). Once a centre of the slave trade
(4) Sculpture on the Buddhist temple of Borobudur (Indonesia). 8th-9th century
(7) Detail of two of the four bronze horses, probably of Greek origin, which adorn the façade of St. Mark's basilica, Venice (Italy)
(12) Stele from the Maya site of Copan (Honduras). 7th-8th century
(15) "Nezem" (nose-ring) Punic terra-cotta mask used in religious ceremonies (6th-7th century BC)





Colour page 26

EATING HABITS

(1) Preparing a meal in Bolivia
(6) Mealtime in Bangkok (Thailand)
(7) *Large Still Life* (1910-1912), oil on waxed canvas (H. 99 cm, W 135 cm) by the Russian painter Niko Piromanaschvili

GAMES AND PLAY **(2)**: Young skateboard virtuoso (France)

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION **(3)**: Village palaver (Niger)

WORK

(4) Filming of *Orlando Furioso* by the Italian director Luca Ronconi
(8) Fishermen on poles (Sri Lanka)

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION **(5)**: New-born babies (Asia)

▶chaos of a local ethnocentricity which would be ill-advised and artificial. Neither does it mean blindly and stubbornly rejecting the norms from outside, which made it possible for us to construct our Creole cathedrals, to develop our material civilization and the most creative aspects of our mixed culture.

But they also help us to recognize our cultural identity in the process of racial intermingling and to orient our liberation struggles in all fields.

In the field of fictional literature—poetry, novels, theatre—these models and foreign norms, the work of the great poets, novelists and dramatists of the central cultures, once the stage of experimental imitation was passed, that is to say, once the genuine spirit of our literatures had been recovered, have contributed in a decisive way to the development of these literatures in closely-defined periods and epochs.

In this problematic arising out of the active and vital identity of our cultures the functions and responsibilities of the élites are obvious. But it is equally clear that identity understood in this way is not the exclusive apanage of these élites.

Such an identity is forged and constructed in the fire of social energy by the élites, but also by the untutored masses who lack expression. No genuine culture can reduce itself to the quintessentially, chemically pure distillation of élitist values nor can it do without the life-giving breath of popular culture, the powerful and obscure palpitation of the submerged masses whose lack of culture is a specific form of the culture of marginalization, of backwardness and oppression. This also holds true for indigenous cultures, which are more coherent (in spite of their unstructured form and the threat of extinction hanging over them) in the impure context of our mestizo culture.

It is precisely this dichotomy between the "cultivated" and the "uncultivated" and the variables of its interaction within a given society and within societies at large which enriches the real subsoil of Latin-American identity: the illuminated part and the shadowy part of its transitional culture linked to the vicissitudes of its history under the sign of economic and cultural dependence.

The "massification" of books produced by the cultural industry does not imply, or announce, the establishment of a mass culture. Quite the contrary. The objectives of the entrepreneurial economy, in the original sense of an economy of entrepreneurs, are not to create a mass culture, but to extract massive dividends from investments.

Such objectives have even less to do with the abolition of the élitist taste (or at least the élitist predilections) of bourgeois culture. In fact, what counts in this context, which happens to be its principal theatre of operations, are the more efficient diffusing nuclei of prestige and sacralization: academies, institutes, influential personalities, writers who are at the same time critics, etc.

Conscious of the role which the local and international *intelligentsias* perform, the cultural power uses them unscrupulously.

In the case of local élites, the availability and co-operation of their members tend naturally to be put at the service of the dispensers of prestige and material remuneration as if it were a mark of distinction. In general, they are the most willing and effective guides, intermediaries and assessors who prepare the ground for the multinationals to penetrate national territories with a licence to plunder.

As for the élites of the central countries or those which continue to perform the role of dispensers of culture and advanced technology thanks to the competition which permits and promotes the division into rival blocs of the so-called First World, the compiicity of the intellectuals and writers with the factors of power (political power, economic power, cultural power) is a notorious and inveterate fact; one could almost say it has become institutionalized.

As in other fields of power, cultural power can only unfold its maximal possibilities of predominance by engrafting its structures onto the apparatus of an intellectual bureaucracy which is attached ideologically to the philosophy and interests of that power and which always, or nearly always, acts in collaboration with the political power, whatever its political orientation: from the reactionary right to the supposed openings to the left in the unchanging framework of bourgeois democracy.

This apparatus of *clercs* (which has replaced the old corporations of elders which existed in feudal societies) dominates all the institutions of official cultures: academies, universities, libraries, cultural organisms of every kind, foundations, literary contests, specialized criticism, radio and television programmes, etc.

In such conditions, it is not the reader who looks for, and selects *his* books. The latter are imposed on him in accordance with an indiscriminate programming which, in its consequences, is actually discriminatory; the reader is chosen by the omniscient index of the microprocessor in the prospective field of the calculation of probabilities.

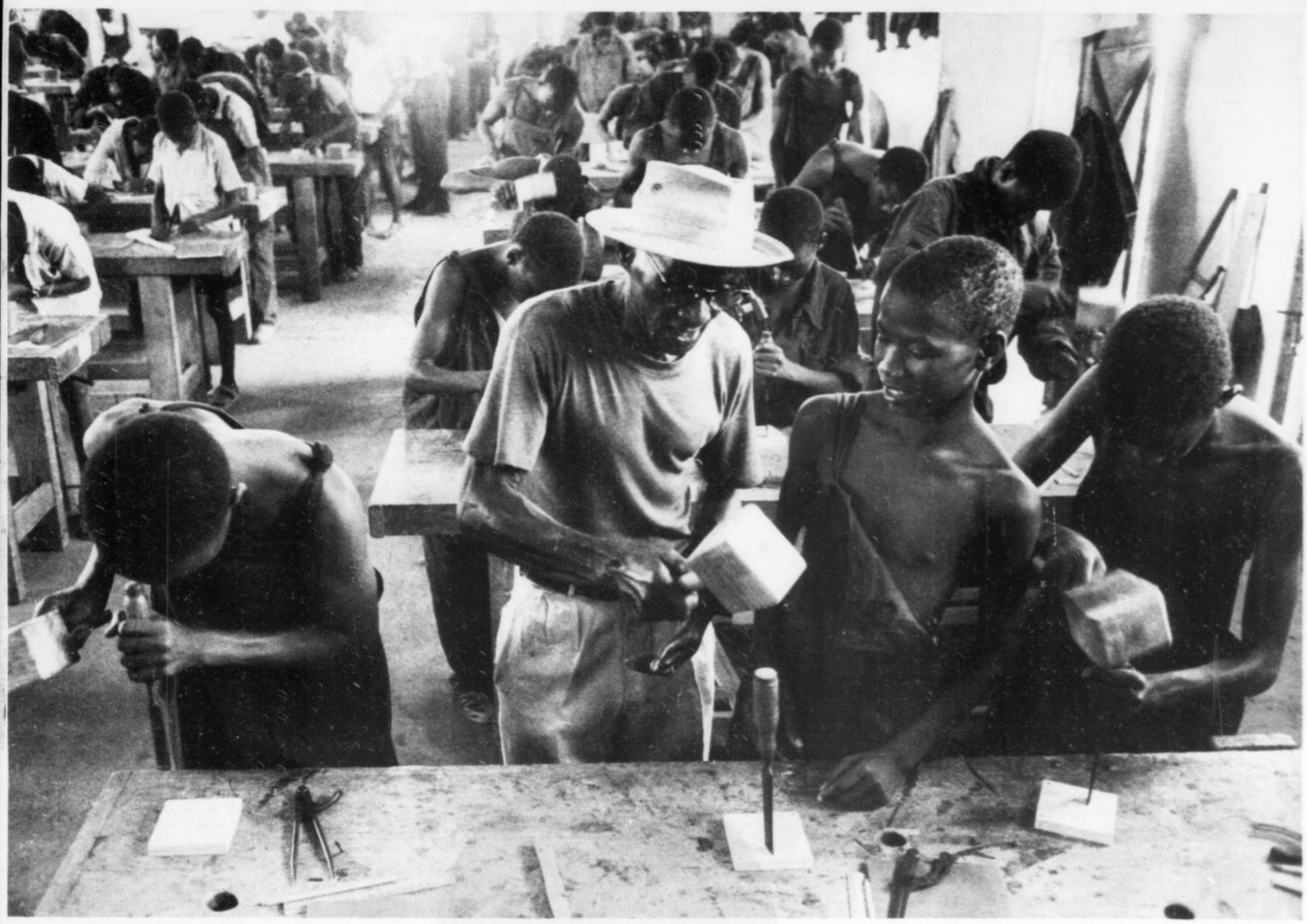
The abstract image of this average reader is projected by the computers in virtue of certain forms tested in the market and in any event imposed upon it. The author-text-reader relationship undergoes, as a result, a profound change under the impact of the mass-produced, itemized book and its publicity which presents it not as an offer, but as an order. No revealing testimony about this distorsion is available to the average reader. He accepts it unawares, just as he accepts each day the "revealed truths", the propagandizing gospels of the mass media on underwear, on varieties of canned goods or balanced foods for cats and dogs. Even so-called cultivated readers end up by giving in to this compulsion which works on the primary instincts of the consumer.

In contrast with this real situation, "How many books are not really published but just churned out!" exclaimed one independent French publisher who has experienced from the inside the fight against the giants of publishing. The latter are a very special species whom Swift would have castigated had he been alive today and witnessed our era in which millions and millions of Lilliputians are enslaved by the strong-arm-men of money. Having appropriated the Gutenberg Galaxy, they have arranged a match or at least a cross-breeding operation with the audiovisual galaxy, thereby nullifying McLuhan's prophecy about the death of the book.

■ **Augusto Roa Bastos**

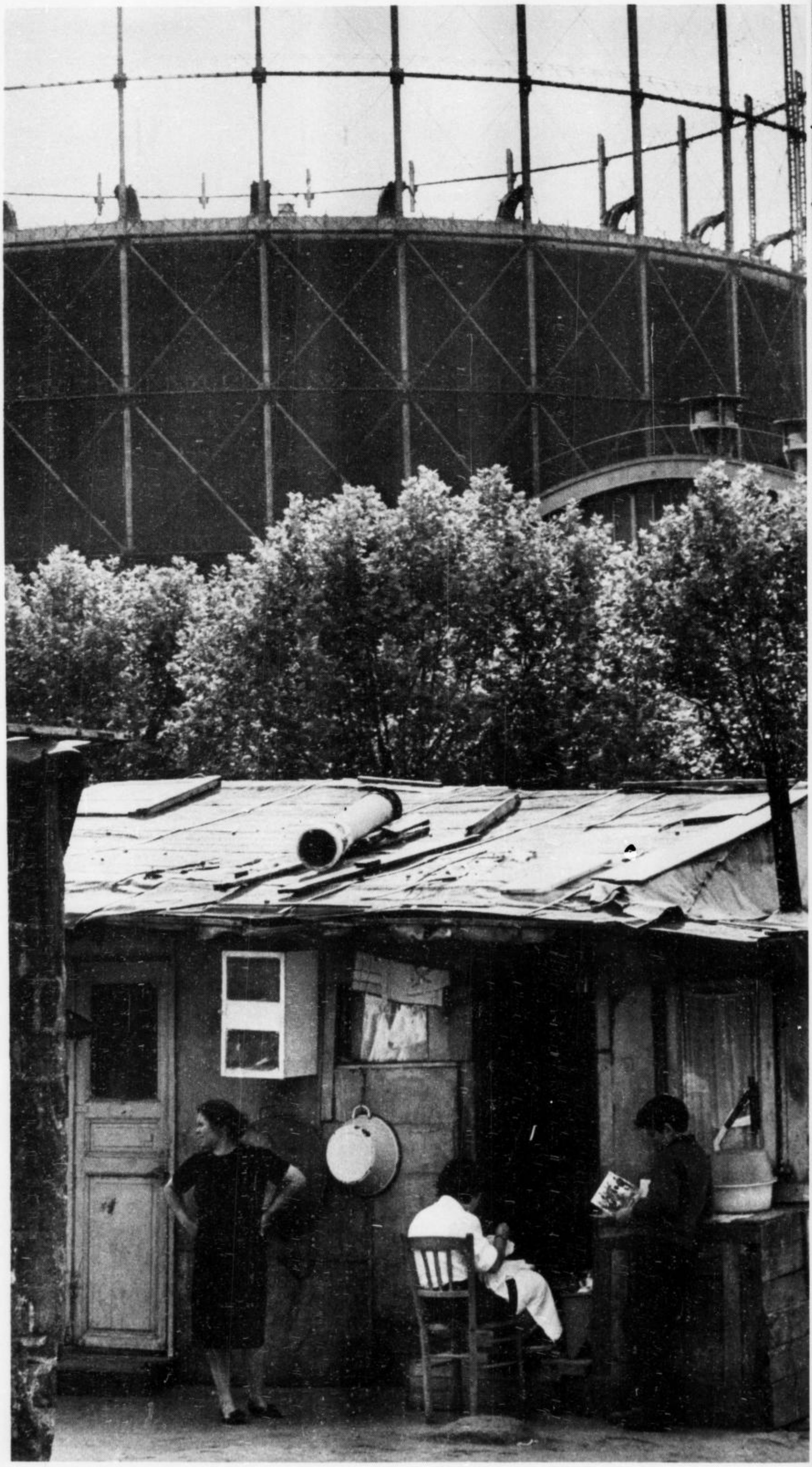
LITERACY AND EDUCATION. ***From the standpoint of lifelong education itself, considered not as further vocational training but rather as an overall process of education, starting with the earliest stage and continuing throughout life, the development of informal and non-formal types of education, and better co-ordination between them and the formal systems, also seem to meet the wish to bring about greater interpenetration between education and society as a whole. This would make for that diversification of the content, methods, structures and levels of education and training required by the modern world. New questions arise as to the choices to be made regarding imported technology: how to gain access to the possibilities of immediate progress offered by technology without falling into a new kind of dependence; how and to what extent a society can rapidly acquire modern science and technology without losing its central values and internal cohesion. Even more than the transfer of technology, the decisive factor in long-term progress seems to be the transfer of knowledge. Full control even of the choice of technologies appears unattainable unless an adequate domestic research capacity and store of knowledge are there to be drawn on. There is here certainly a common challenge that will have to be faced by most societies—whether industrialized or developing—in the years ahead: to narrow the margin of incomprehension, not to say the cleavage, between the world of technology and the mass of the people, and to ensure the dynamic integration of the achievements of modern technology into the reality of the underlying cultures. A major task confronting specialists in the social and human sciences is to find points of interaction and reconciliation between technology and culture; an equally important task for educational systems is to narrow the gap between "the two cultures" by blending elements drawn from the "humanities" into the training of scientists, engineers and technologists and raising the level of scientific and technological knowledge in so-called general education.***

Above, students receive technical instruction in the carpentry workshop at Conakry Technical High School, Guinea. (Photo Marc Riboud © Magnum, Paris). Below, Tanzanian children at work in a school garden make their contribution to the campaign to improve nutrition. (Photo Bernard P. Wolff, Unicef).



The woman revolution

by Han Suyin



CULTURE is defined as an assembly of spiritual and material values, attainments and beliefs, knowledge and skills, which produce a corpus with a distinctive identity. This body of thought, behaviour and social customs is transmitted by the group or groups practising it to succeeding generations as its "culture".

Inter-cultural communication is not new. Throughout the millennia man has travelled in groups or singly, and his culture has been influenced or has influenced other social groups with which contact was made.

Trade and immigration, exploration, religion, colonial conquest have all been promoters of cultural change and interaction. This is intensified today, when technology makes even the most remote, hermetic ethnic groups accessible, vulnerable, and their cultures subject to change.

One factor in this increasing intercommunication is the ongoing woman revolution. In all cultures and social groups, womankind is undergoing a process of change; and this changed status is occurring through both a conscious movement on the part of women, and the increasing mastery of technology.

Woman, as well as man, is a cultural and economic reality. Yet all studies of historical development, in the main, ignore or obscure the role of woman within her own cultural pattern. She is treated as marginal, not pivotal, to the historical development of her group.

Yet, in the maintenance or rejection of cultural values, in the affective and physical shaping of the children-successors to the culture, in the transmission and communication of skills and knowledge of all kinds, in the acceptance of new economic and social developments, the role of woman is fundamental to any society and to the cultural survival of any group.

Woman as creator of wealth has been totally ignored. Yet the development of

MINORITIES AND MIGRANTS

Class and racial and cultural features distort the very conceptions of literacy, knowledge and intelligence, and, since these cannot be truly objectively measured, the children of migrant and minority groups become the victims of institutionalized procedures that preserve the* status quo. *The failure of the migrant in the classroom is therefore a continual self-fulfilling prophecy, generated by widespread and often imperceptible discriminatory practices.

Classroom scene in the USA. Photo © Jeanne Hamilton, New York.

civilization, from spinning and weaving by hand to the industrial manufactures of today, require woman's labour. Woman the consumer is also a factor in the economics of any country. Throughout the ages, the role of woman as wealth accumulator has been slighted. Her role as traditional teacher of arts and language and skills, in dance and music and singing and many other fields, is taken for granted and not properly valued.

As a keeper of tradition, as an educator and communicator, and in the creation of new needs, new aspirations, in literature and poetry and painting, in science and in politics, woman has played a role in the enrichment and continuity of cultures.

Yet the vocabulary of so many of these cultures is a masculine one; expressing man deciding, ruling, designing existence; leaving woman a "marginal majority" to silence and to submission.

The oppression of womankind is, in the history of humanity, the very first of all oppressions exercised by the male sex towards the fellow-being. "Before all other exploitations came the exploitation of the female" says Engels. This universal exploitation shows a striking uniformity in its patterns of feminine oppression and enslavement, despite the variety of the devices employed. Not least, indeed of first importance, is the use of physical strength, since physical strength was accounted, for so long, a male "superiority". Even today, among civilized societies, the use and abuse of physical force goes on. From mutilation such as foot-binding to other forms of cloistering; from sexual slavery to the ill-treatment of widows, from rape (and the scandalous lightness with which it is still regarded even in the west) to wife-beating... physical force is still one of the methods used to cow woman into submission as an inferior.

But it is in the domain of the mental and the metaphysical that this oppression has been most subtly and tenaciously developed into "cultural values". The utilization of pseudo-virtues, man-made; of so-called "sacred" or "God-given" laws; of man-made laws, legalizing the violation of woman as a person... all this still goes on, and still inhabits the many cultures of the world today.

Religion has played its role in this shameful oppression. Christianity has, for centuries, been the total negation of the teachings of Jesus Christ, who elevated woman to her rightful place as an equal person. Confucianism denied woman her human identity; she was an object, the property of the male.

Yet Taoism, and Buddhism, as well as Jesus, were world changers recognizing the essential equality of woman. Taoism is founded on the duality of the universe; the Ying and the Yang, male and female, equal, inseparable, complementary. To diminish the one is to deny the other.

For centuries, in the West, learned men and renowned scholars have found abundant ▶

MIGRANTS. ***In both the towns and countryside of the developed world migrants form a wretched population of outcasts from society, virtual outlaws, who are socially and culturally excluded. This sub-proletariat lives precariously in the worst possible social conditions, in unhealthy, insanitary dwellings, with no cultural advantages, receiving little or no instruction or professional training and, as a result, working in unfulfilling, ill-paid jobs.***

Immigrant workers in the shanty-town at Saint-Denis, on the outskirts of Paris. Photo Bruno Barbey © Magnum, Paris.

1

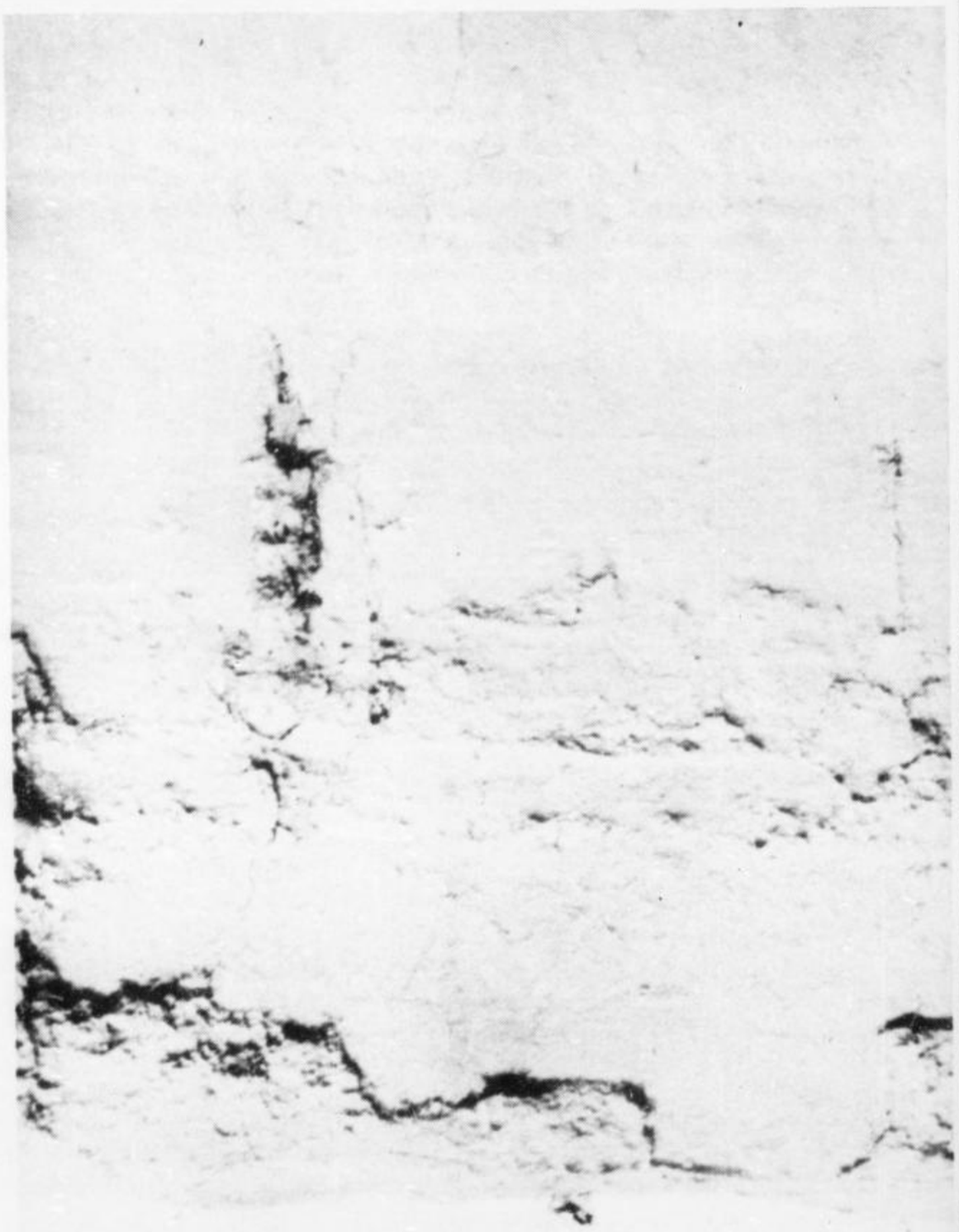
THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Any attempt to change the status of women elicits the expression of deeply rooted opposition and attempts to create equal educational and better employment opportunities are no exception. The arguments justifying inaction are numerous but usually based on a certain conception of women's traditional role and a fear that, if this is changed, there will be a breakdown of moral and cultural values.

(1) In societies where many if not most women are employed, they do not enjoy the same opportunities for advancement and are not prepared through their education and training for higher status jobs; it is acceptable for a woman to be a teacher but not an administrator, a laboratory assistant but not an engineer, a secretary but not an executive, a field labourer but not a tractor driver or a farm manager.
Photo Marc Riboud © Magnum, Paris

(2) In some societies it is feared that promoting literacy among women will lead to dire consequences. In others, primary and secondary general education for girls is accepted as natural, but education for employment or for the exercise of a profession is regarded as useless and perhaps undesirable.
Photo International Labour Office, J.P. Laffont © Sygma

(3) While conventional statistics show that women's working roles are, at best, secondary or complementary to the family income, the reality in developing countries is that women increasingly are the* de facto *heads of households with full responsibility for their own and their children's survival.
Photo © Olivier Martel, Paris



2

3

▶ justification both for racial discrimination—the exploitation of the other human being—and for the oppression of woman—the inferior being.

The establishment of cultural patterns based upon woman's inferiority is widespread, and it has been continuous for three millennia.

This intra-cultural injustice is the fundamental flaw, vitiating all dialogue, all communication, not only between the two halves of humankind, but also between all human beings.

Today, an opportunity is given to redress this injustice, through the ongoing woman revolution which is taking place.

As we confront a world where inter-cultural dialogue must be based on essential equality, the share that womankind must have in the decision-making processes of shaping a just future is crucial.

In other words, intra-cultural equality must be achieved, to make inter-cultural equality, a dialogue between equal human beings, valid, responsible, and fruitful. Otherwise the same pattern of superior/inferior, dominant/repressed, will continue, both materially and spiritually, to poison relations between humans.

In the struggles for national liberation of our twentieth century, as many women as men fought side by side; but when independence was achieved women, even those leaders who were an inspiration to men to do battle for justice and freedom, were denied the fruits of victory and relegated to "traditional" roles in the "culture" to which they belonged.

Yet there are exceptions. One of them is the Chinese Revolution. From its onset, in the early twentieth century, women, unbinding their feet, played a most important role in the revolution; and when Liberation came, they were not returned to feudal oppression. Indeed, China is one of the countries in the Third World where the authorities in power back woman as an equal person to the fullest possible extent.

"Without the emancipation of woman, man cannot be liberated" said Mao Tsetung, thus echoing the French social theorist Charles Fourier who in 1793 had said that all social progress is conditioned by the progress of woman towards her own emancipation.

Gisèle Halimi, the renowned woman lawyer, writes that: "Woman has a global vocation for revolutionary change."

The word "global" is significant. Just as there is a striking uniformity in the methods devised by man to oppress and to exploit woman, in so many cultures, so is there a similarity, a basic and identical foundation for woman's revolt against this oppression. All women's movements in the world, therefore, can help and mutually support each other. For the struggle is the same. For economic equality. For ordinary human rights, against female sexual slavery, against rape and physical abuse, against the thousand and one legal and illegal ways in which women are diminished, stunted and betrayed. "Our struggle is your struggle". And this platform of communication, across all cultures, is one which is becoming increasingly apparent to all women.

Whether among the toilers of India, or in Latin America; in the liberation movement ▶

▶of affluent America, or elsewhere, though different in degree, the aims are the same: to become full persons, in their own right.

As Roger Garaudy says in his book *For The Advent Of Woman:* "All these movements [for feminine liberation] are one... with a global character... far more so than the national liberation struggles have been...." The woman revolution is by its very nature international, global, inter-cultural and intra-cultural.

Technological progress has helped the rising consciousness of woman's liberation. A major factor has been contraception. Birth control, pioneered in the early twentieth century by a woman (Margaret Sanger) is today known, accepted, by women the whole world over. It is changing, altering the concepts of woman towards herself. No longer a mere breeding machine, it enables her to assume her own personality and potential. It has, for the first time, given her the right to own her own body; to decide when she wants a child, or not.

This change in mentality is enormously significant. In other ways new technologies have made obsolete the "superiority" of physical strength. Skill and intelligence is displayed by women working computers and other machines, or engaging in work of high intellectual calibre. And all this merely points to one thing: to the end of the tragic waste of woman's potential, inventiveness, and intelligence. The world has indeed impoverished itself for some millennia by discriminating against the brain power of half of humanity, but now the opportunity has come to utilize it.

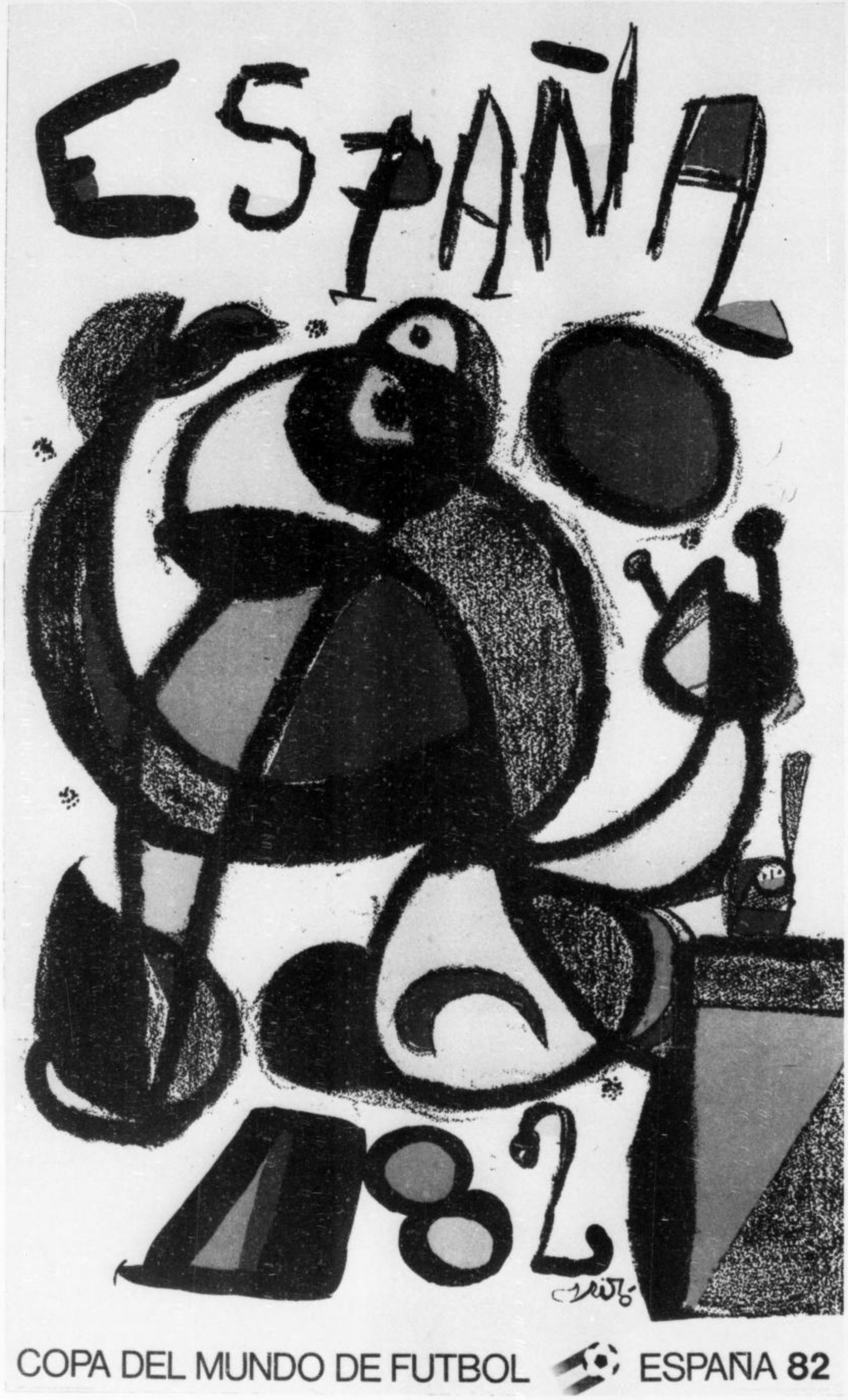
Woman's intelligence and her right to participate in decision-making affecting the world's future do not mean a competition with man, but a partnership. Her approach to problems will certainly be different, and her contribution lies precisely in that difference.

Whereas masculine sociologists and philosophers tend to start their mental exploration from intellectualized assumptions, women are more likely to proceed from lived experience than abstract ideation, from observation, and concrete aspects of living, rather than from "rational reasoning" or "logic".

This used to be derided as "feminine instinct" or "intuition", a "biological", non-intellectual expression of the woman's mind. But perhaps this is what the world needs, and certainly woman's perception of inter-cultural problems will be all the more enriching because her wisdom and percipience will not make her reject what is different as "incomprehensible". There is far too much obsession with logic, with reason, which is merely the reduction of an argument to the limits of its own assumptions. In the presence of dissimilar cultural patterns, "logic" and "rationality" often err. Whereas common sense, an "intuitive" perception and appreciation of differences, and an acceptance of them, will be enriching and productive.

In our changing world, where all cultures are changing so rapidly, intra- and inter-cultural progress can only become coherent, harmonious, when woman enters as a full human being into the dialogue of our different cultures, as an equal participant in all the affairs of our planet Earth.

■ Han Suyin



SPORT

As a means of expression that is independent of language, and instantly understandable to all, by the evidence it provides of the fundamental equality of men and peoples, by the opportunities it affords for encounters between individuals and teams from widely diverse countries, sport can and should pave the way for men to live together in a reconciled world.

***Fiesta,* a poster by the Catalan artist Joan Miró for the World Cup now taking place in Spain. Poster © Société de Production des Affiches Maeght, Paris.**

In praise of mother tongues

by Chingiz Aïtmatov

A striking feature of Daghestan is the great number of languages to be found there. With typical humour, mour, the Soviet poet Rasul Gamzatov, himself a native of this mountainous country in the north-east Caucasus, explains why. When the Creator was distributing languages, a snowstorm was blowing in Daghestan; in a hurry to be on his way, he emptied a whole sackful over its people!

It is certainly true that until comparatively recently, the inhabitants of Daghestan, who all shared much the same way of life in neighbouring valleys, were separated by linguistic differences so great that they might have been living on different continents. Every *aul*, or village, had its own local tongue; none in any way resembled the others.

But no alphabet in the world offered characters that could be used to transcribe all the languages of Daghestan. And when, at the beginning of the Soviet period, attempts were made to adapt the Russian alphabet for this purpose, it proved necessary to add new characters and combinations of characters to transform speech into writing.

Today, the people of Daghestan, numbering some two million, speak altogether more than thirty different languages; newspapers and literary periodicals appear in five of them; seven may be heard on the stage of the national theatres; and books are published in nine. The country's poets write not only in the Avar language which, although the Avarians themselves number no more than 400,000, is the most widespread tongue, but also in the language of the Tats, of whom there are only 15,000, and even in a language spoken by only 2,000 people.

Unless one is directly involved, the problems of the so-called "minority peoples", who may be found in many different corners of the world, may well appear to be of little consequence. But the preoccupations of the tiniest community can in fact be as serious, as important and even as alarming to its members as the collective concerns of multi-million populations.

This is especially true when it comes to cultural survival, and more particularly the survival of language, since a people without a tongue of its own is a people whose self-esteem is undermined. Language is not only the keystone of a nation's culture; it is also the means by which that culture can develop.

The language of any people is a unique phenomenon, a product of its own brand of creativity; the loss of a people's language is the loss of its life-blood. To preserve those which have survived is a duty, for they form part of the heritage of all mankind.

The world lives in an environment of language, and the linguistic ecosphere is as complex and fragile as the natural one. Pragmatism may be a useful attitude to adopt when dealing with machines, but this is not the case where nature and culture are concerned.

It is true, nonetheless, that "major" languages tend to displace or absorb those which are only spoken by a few. However ardently it may be expressed, any argument in favour of integration which implies a loss of national values or of cultural identity must be received with caution, because it distorts the issue. To unite profitably, peoples and cultures must be in some way ▶

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Various cultures can be identified within a graded social structure from the tribal level through rural life to urban groups and the urban élite. Superimposed on this there can even exist a multiplicity of cultures within a political structure, from area to area within national boundaries and from country to country within a region.

Story-time in the Philippines. Photo A.P. Garcia, Unesco.

▶ different from each other, in some way dissimilar. The absence of originality makes mutual enrichment impossible; indeed it removes the need to unite.

I am deeply convinced that there exists a real possibility of conserving existing minority languages and creating the conditions for their active participation in new patterns of spiritual and material existence, as well as an atmosphere in which they themselves can develop—either through their own inner evolution or through the direct and indirect influence and example of cultures conveyed by other languages. The experience of my own country, Kirghizia, confirms this conviction, as does that of the hundred and more nations, peoples and ethnic groups which—exactly sixty years ago—freely decided to join in a single State, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

At that already distant time, the countries which lay on the fringe of the former Russian Empire were faced with a choice. Were they to opt for a single, highly-developed language, i.e. Russian, or to decide on coexistence, i.e. the use of Russian as a major language, but with the parallel development of their own national tongues?

The easiest and most obvious solution would have been for them to adopt Russian and, setting concern with their national cultures aside, to begin building the future on the solid literary and scientific foundations which that language offered.

Such a simple choice must have been tempting. But did it not imply the atrophy of their own cultures? Would it not inhibit the development of those cultures in accordance with the spirit of the times? And last but not least, would not such a choice run counter to the process of creating infinite complexity and variety which is a welcome characteristic of human history? In mankind's storehouse of culture, who would be bold enough to say, "this must be kept at all costs, but this can be cast aside"?

The matter was one which required thought, and the careful weighing of pros and cons. And if the choice of a language obviously depends on there being alternatives to choose from, a question of civic duty is also involved: the duty of the individual towards his people—the source not only of his existence but also of his most precious possession, his language.

A mother tongue is, in its turn, a source of ceaseless wonder. The language which we hear and learn in childhood is the only one which is capable of carrying into our hearts and minds the poetry of our people's existence and experience, of igniting in us the first flame of national pride and of conveying to us the sheer, aesthetic pleasure of words honed and polished by our ancestors.

At the same time, it should be pointed out—and my own experience confirms this—that a child is capable of acquiring equal mastery of two languages, and possibly even more, provided that they are presented in an identical manner from the very beginning. In my own case Russian is no less a mother tongue than Kirghiz; I grew up with both, and both will remain with me for the rest of my days.

In the early days of the USSR, it became clear that the cultural development of the family of nations which comprised the Soviet Union could not take place without reference to cultures which were already more advanced. After all, more than a third of those nations had no printed literature of their own. And this is why the second of the options mentioned above was preferred. The challenge was greater, but so was the prize.

One of the results is that when we speak today of "Soviet literature", we are in reality speaking of more than eighty different national literatures. The adoption of the principle that wherever more than one language is used for ethnic reasons or for administrative purposes, those languages shall be accorded equal treatment, has fully justified itself.

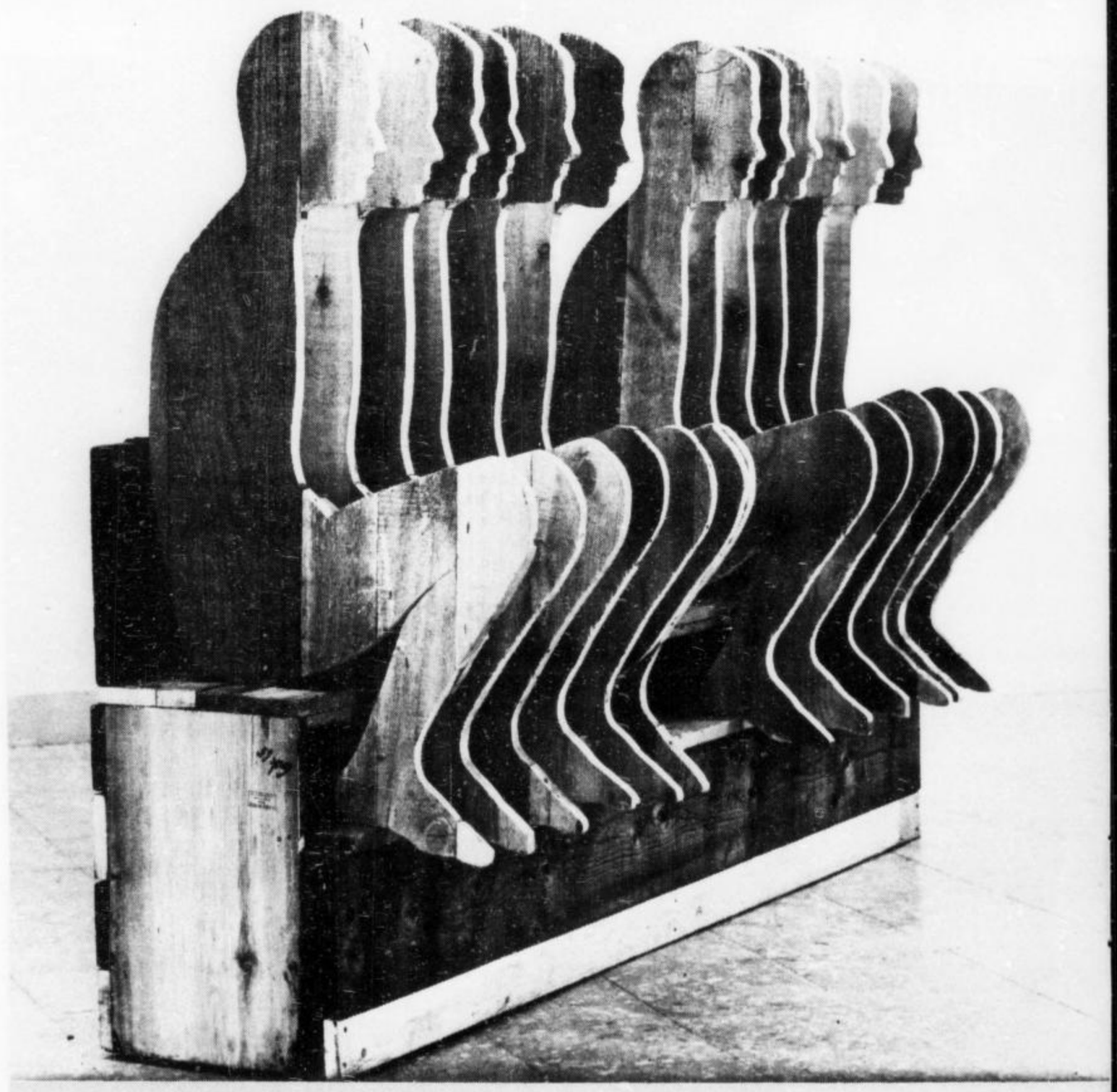
Let me say a word here about the role of the Russian language which has made it possible, for the first time in history, to establish creative links between peoples who, not so long ago, were unaware of each other's existence; between peoples who were on significantly different rungs on the ladder of civilization; whose cultural and social histories, like their customs and traditions, had little in common; whose languages were mutually incomprehensible.

If Russian has become the language of communication between the many peoples of the USSR, the language of the new civilization and of cultural co-operation, this is firstly because it is the language of the most numerous nation in the Union, and secondly, because it has adapted and enriched itself through contact with all the other languages. Thus, it has become the second language of non-Russian peoples in all the national republics and administrative regions of the USSR; eighty-two per cent of the entire population speak it fluently.

It is now possible to say that for the first time in the history of mankind, a single State has created a multilingual culture, drawing on all that is best in the cultures of its majority and minority nations alike and at the same time conserving their specific national characteristics, manner of thinking and ways of life.

It is a culture which is simultaneously universal, internationalist and kaleidoscopically national. Its internationalism does not imply, as has been mistakenly claimed, the replacement of national cultures by a uniform stereotype, but rather the comprehensive development of all the different national cultures and languages within the context of a single social ideal.

We may contrast this process with the levelling and the erosion of national values which are still to be found, alas, in other parts of the world and which give rise to natural concern for the future of world culture. There is, I believe, an important humanist and moral lesson to be drawn



CULTURAL DIVERSITY. ***It is essential that all linguistic, ethnic and cultural groups be accorded their rightful place in society. Often a minority group within a country has a great deal to offer by way of values to the majority groups within the same nation.***

***Ultima Cena*, by the Italian artist Mario Ceroli. Photo © Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome.**

from the fact that the integration of the cultures of the socialist peoples leads neither to a loss of identity nor to the disappearance of differences, but rather to their mutual enrichment and further growth. Indeed, it permits the disclosure of the potential of the peoples concerned, of the untapped resources which each nation possesses as a result of the spiritual and historical experience acquired throughout its long existence.

Needless to say, the process has not been a simple one. Our experience has been acquired at the price of enormous and sometimes agonizing efforts; the quest for new patterns of creative thought, and for a dialectical theory of existence, has involved a tireless journey along hitherto unmapped paths; we have had to overcome many obstacles remaining from the past, and to endure considerable growing pains.

The development of a huge multinational State like the USSR has inevitably been accompanied by the successive emergence of new processes and problems where the relations between nations are concerned. Suffice it to say in this connexion that recent years have seen a significant increase, in many of the Soviet Republics, in the number of non-indigenous citizens, who have specific claims to make where questions of language, culture and life-style are concerned.

At the same time, the frontiers of national life-styles are constantly expanding. Moreover, the conditions of everyday life are changing so rapidly that it sometimes happens that what were long considered to be specifically national concerns disappear from their original, limited context only to re-emerge as cultural obstructions to general progress.

When we speak of the national particularities which distinguish us from each other, we do not always take account of the many features which draw us together: our common destiny, our common background and our common age. The world we live in, the way we live now and, above all, the way we think: surely this is what should be set against our differences?

Where the Soviet peoples are concerned, the greatest changes have occurred in their attitudes, psychology and behaviour. To whatever national entity we belong, there are now many circumstances in our lives in which our attitudes, assessments, judgements and standards are the same; and this can only be beneficial to our national cultures. Provided, of course, that this new *raison d'être* can find expression in our own languages, it is to be welcomed as a means of extending and enriching our own cultures and of broadening their horizons.

And this is indeed what is happening. As we explore more and more thoroughly the features of what we call "national character", as we learn to look at modern life through modern eyes, the notion of nationality itself takes on a contemporary colouring.

But what would happen if we did the opposite, if we withdrew like hermits into our ▶

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Science and technology form an integral part of contemporary culture, even though the uncontrolled development of certain techniques (mass media, new audio-visual techniques, telematics, nuclear systems) must be seen as involving undeniable risks. The dialectical relation between culture and technique is a particularly delicate problem since science and technology carry with them cultural features that belong to their societies of origin. This does not in any way mean that they should be rejected systematically, as they are absolutely necessary for economic and social development. However, their dissemination and use must be controlled by the countries using them and developed in forms that are adapted by the scientists and technicians of these countries to the traditions and problems of their own cultures and to the actual needs of the people.

A "happening" staged at the nuclear waste treatment plant at La Hague, France, to denounce the dangers incurred by technicians working in the nuclear industry. Photo Michel Lambert © Gamma, Paris.

▶ own shells? The effect would surely be to reduce our culture to a mere shadow of itself, to a pseudo-culture which, at best, would give only a one-sided picture of our national character.

To shut oneself off from intercourse with other cultures, especially if the latter are at a more advanced stage of development, is to deprive oneself of the means of one's own development. Reduced to an end in itself, "originality" can only lead to isolation, to national narrow-mindedness; it can only obstruct the passage of national values beyond national boundaries.

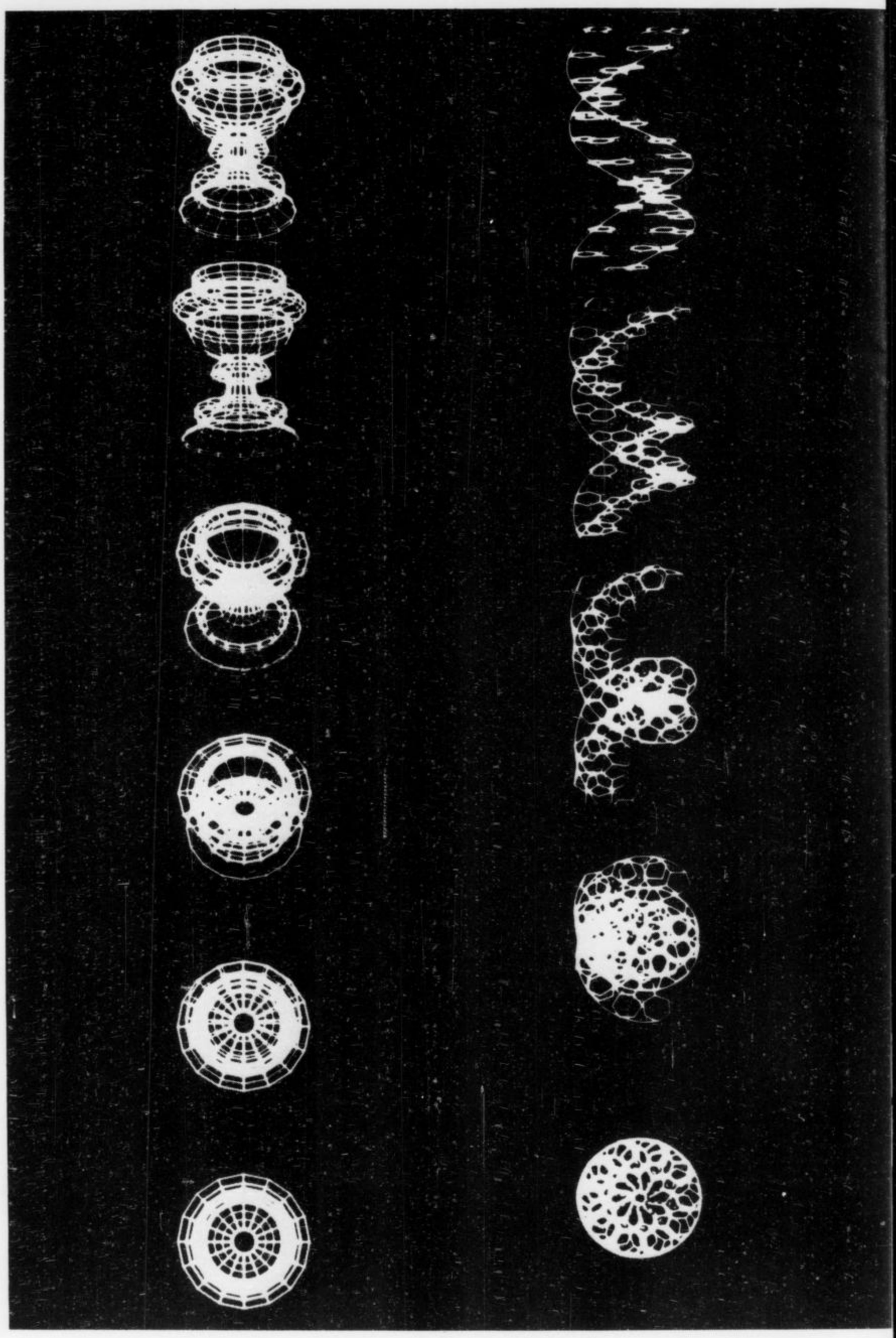
It goes without saying that cultural exchange leads to cultural change. Interaction between national cultures involves mutual enrichment and emancipation from influences which have outlived their time. For some strange reason, the term "national culture" is almost always pronounced with, so to speak, a backward glance over our shoulder in the direction of the past, whereas creative thought has at all times been a reflection of the current spiritual state of the society in question. The originality of a nation is not merely to be found in the sum total of the characteristics inherited during its history, in what has survived and withstood the passage of time; it is also to be found here and now, in the product of its contemporary activities and concerns.

If I have dwelt at such length on this matter, it is because the question of national cultures has become in recent years the subject of worldwide controversy. The individual characteristics of a nation are what makes its culture a unique phenomenon. Close contact with one's native land, with one's people and with the most vital problems of their daily life constitutes the very life-blood of a nation's culture; at the same time, it helps to extend the horizons of that culture beyond national boundaries, because, in so many ways, all peoples' perceptions of the world are the same. This is why, where culture is concerned, "national" and "international" should never be set in opposition to one another.

Of course, it is not surprising that in certain intellectual circles, in Asia or in Africa, for example, there exists a sentiment of prejudice against Eurocentrism, against the European way of thought and the European civilization which they associate with colonial domination and the belittlement of their own national values. Nevertheless, progressive African and Asian intellectuals have long been engaged in the effort to use the European experience for the enrichment of their own national cultures, seeing that experience as part of the universal heritage of mankind.

I agree with the observation by the Bengali critic Sarvar Murshid that every culture must now decide whether to see itself as an integral part of world culture as a whole, or as a "great" culture, if only within its own four walls. As I have already remarked, excessive self-importance leads to isolation and, eventually, to dogmatism. It is quite understandable, however, why this question is a particularly painful one for Asia and Africa to resolve: the real threat of ethnocide has only recently begun to diminish.

Today, the many people of those two enormous continents have to decide on the



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. ***Successful development does not depend solely on material means and techniques. It is also important that the individuals and groups who are the agents of development should be convinced that they will themselves be the beneficiaries of it. Economic growth, which is admittedly the key to all development, then ceases to be an end in itself. It becomes a means whereby the needs of all may be satisfied, including an opportunity for the full development of the individual. Thus cultural policies and development policies merge in their reciprocal effects.***

Left, Renaissance perspective exercise in how to draw a chalice, and, right, rotation of the DNA spiral, the molecular basis of inheritance, from a computer-graphic display. Photo © All rights reserved.

means to be employed in resolving the issue of not only their political and social, but also their cultural development. The attainment of political independence poses with considerable urgency the question of creating appropriate new forms of economic and cultural existence, without which independence itself will prove to have been a sterile gain.

"East is East, and West is West..." said Kipling. But this was poetic licence; history and culture alike disprove his claim that "never the twain shall meet". Recent decades have seen social upheavals on a scale matched only in biology and geology, and within an incredibly shorter time span. The developing countries are still at a stage when cultural progress will depend above all on success in their efforts to achieve social development and to resolve their social problems.

Thoughts, things and images, as well as individual destinies and collective histories, already formed a motley crowd on the highways of existence when the peoples of the world lived hidden away in isolation from each other. Today, whether the struggle to preserve it intact is conducted in political or cultural terms, the world is indivisible. International cultural and scientific collaboration may be seen as part of the effort to remove tensions between peoples—an effort in which our own share is second to none.

A new historical period has dawned, and the first step along the new road has been accomplished. The peoples of the world have shown that they are capable of setting aside the differences between States, societies and nations in the attempt to find a common approach to the problems of all mankind, and, most important of all, the issue of peace and war.

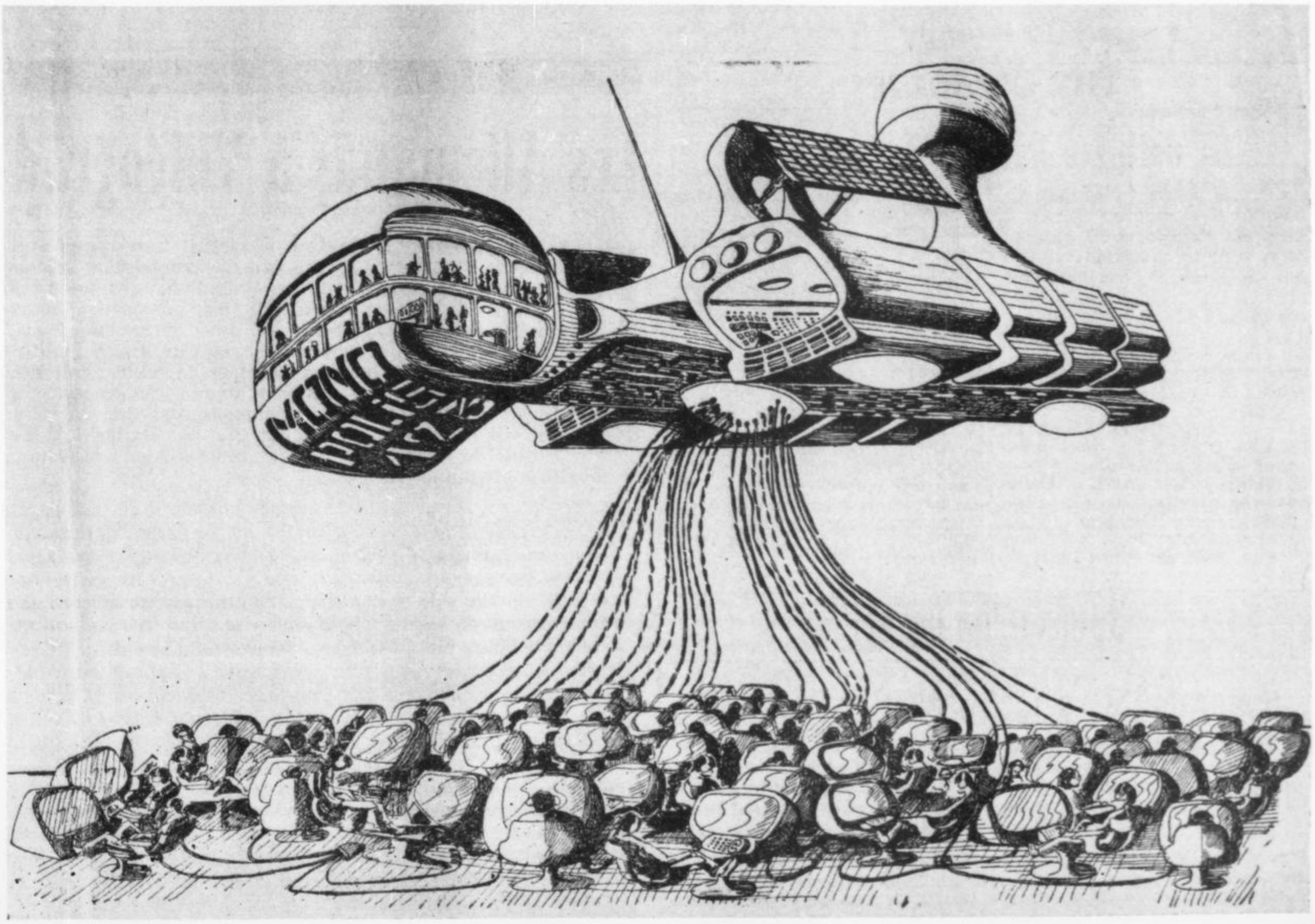
We are united in our awareness of collective responsibility for the fate of human culture and of civilization in its entirety, and for the moral climate of our planet. Does this not entitle us to proclaim boldly that now is the moment to choose the directions in which mankind is to develop? Our responsibility in this matter is all the more enormous, in that we cannot leave the decisions for tomorrow. For tomorrow itself to arrive will depend in no small measure on what we can achieve today.

■ **Chingiz Aïtmatov**

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION

The fact that the greater part of the world's information and communication resources are in the hands of the industrialized countries places them in a position such that they in fact exercise a kind of domination over the countries of the Third World—and the implications of this situation are all the more serious in that they are not realized by those in a position to exercise domination. The fact that the mass communication media—newspapers with a vast, in some cases a world-wide circulation, press agencies which for most countries are almost the only sources of international news, and complex telecommunication networks—are in the hands of a few developed countries affects both the direction of the flow of information, which is produced in the developed countries and disseminated towards the Third World, and also the content of this information which inevitably reflects the point of view, the mentality, the values and even the interests of the developed countries. It might thus be said that the direction of the flow of information determines its content.

Drawing © André Bonhomme, Paris



The global village revisited

by Russell Neuman

IN the mid-1960s Canadian media analyst Marshall McLuhan began to ponder the notion of the global village—the people of the world's nations united by instantaneous inter-communication by television. As TV became available in every chateau, hut, and tent, he speculated, the world's nations would inevitably become more aware of and sympathetic to each other's cultures and beliefs. How could bellicose heads of State sustain war fever and xenophobia among their citizens in the face of empathic images of adults and children—the human condition transmitted by television drama—flowing across national boundaries? Perhaps also there is something revealing and spontaneous about this visual electronic medium which, in contrast to print, does not lend itself as well to the self-conscious prose or abstract propaganda of the ideological journalist or pamphleteer. It is a vision of new technology and cultural harmony.

Today this imagery, although still an attractive and coherent scenario, strikes a false chord. Those who struggle with the harsh realities of economic development, weary negotiators who face renewed debates over the New World Information Order are likely to represent a rather sceptical audience for a latter-day McLuhan who would point to new communications technology as a panacea for world tensions.

Some have reacted to the technological determinism of the global village notion by concluding simply that McLuhan had it the wrong way around. It is not television's technology which determines its ideological and cultural content, but the culture and ideology which determines the character and impact of the technology. One might contrast, for example, the Soviet Union's lengthy television documentaries celebrating Lenin's life and philosophy and new industrial development in the Urals with the theatrical capitalism of such American game shows as "Let's Make a Deal" and "The Price Is Right".

Such a view leads quite naturally into the logic of the New World Information Order. The news and entertainment produced and distributed by the dominant Western media, so the logic goes, will inevitably reflect the commercial interests and national biases of their sources with continued insensitivity to the unique needs and perspectives of Third World audiences.

Given the disquieting legacy of the colonial era, many in the Third World understandably cast a sceptical eye on the prospect of a new electronic colonialism. But a simplistic model which equates all new media with neo-colonialism will be no more helpful in the design of workable international communications policy than the naive optimism of McLuhan's global village.

The North-South and East-West polarization of opinion concerning such issues as the New World Information Order may be a familiar pattern in international circles but it sparks special interest among communications researchers. My thesis is this: The proponents of an unrestricted free flow of media entertainment and information across national boundaries tend to reflect McLuhan's style of technological determinism—communications content, he was prone to argue, is inherently neutral. The spread of new technologies is inevitable. Each new technology from radio through television to direct broadcast satellites will spontaneously determine its own cultural character. In contrast, those who emphasize cultural sovereignty issues tend to focus exclusively on entertainment and news as propaganda and reflect an extreme scepticism about new communication technologies—an equally simplistic political determinism. ▶

INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION. *Every country has its share of communication outcasts or "have-nots" who only seldom have any say in determining the content of information and have virtually no opportunity of making their views or problems known through the media. And so the gap widens between those who are over-informed and those who are underinformed, while at the same time the imbalance between those who issue and those who receive information grows more pronounced. Admittedly, at the international level, the imbalance in the production and flow of information and programmes affects primarily North-South relations, but it is also to be found within each of the world's major regions and even within each country. The need to deliver the developing countries from the state of dependence they are still in as regards communication is now widely recognized: 80 per cent of the news distributed throughout the world comes from the industrialized countries, and only 10 to 30 per cent concerns the developing countries. To this imbalance must be added the unequal distribution of books or radio and television programmes. The perpetuation of such disparities entails serious economic, political, social and cultural consequences for the most deprived countries and at the same time constitutes a major obstacle in the way of the peoples getting to know each other and to the progress of international understanding. Countries with high capacities for producing and circulating information often tend to neglect other cultures or are familiar only with their picturesque or anecdotal aspects; and messages from the industrialized countries often feed back to the developing countries a simplified, sometimes distorted or indeed inaccurate image of themselves. Stereotyped and ethnocentric patterns are thus perpetuated and sometimes even reinforced, while a sense of insecurity may give rise to restrictive or defensive measures to guard against what is felt to be a threat to the more vulnerable communities. The very same fears are becoming apparent in a number of industrialized countries, aware that they too are using predominantly foreign programmes. A reduction of the disparities, by developing the media of each country and especially of the developing countries, would undoubtedly make for a freer and more substantial flow of messages and contribute to the progress of these countries and to wider international understanding.*

Photo © Andrea Bruno, Turin

COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE

It would not be enough to provide equipment and materials and to mobilize human and financial resources—unquestionably important as that is—for all communication problems to be solved, both within each country and in relations between countries. For the questions that arise also concern the nature of social relations and the quality of communication; they consequently have social and cultural implications at all levels, national, regional and international.

▶ The truth of the matter, as usual, lies somewhere in between. The role of communications researchers, in studying how audiences use and learn from the media, will be to demonstrate that the appropriate model is one of a continuing interaction of technological and political forces rather than a one-way determinism in either direction. Such a perspective opens new common ground.

The New World Information Order debate as it stands now is troublesome. Each side identifies a primary goal apparently incompatible with the other. Western nations proclaim the need to avoid censorship and to protect the free flow and exchange of ideas across national borders. Developing nations and those which tend to import more cultural products than they export proclaim the need to protect cultural and political sovereignty from the intrusion of Western commercial news and entertainment media.

It might be argued, perhaps somewhat cynically, that each side shares the same premise and the same goal. The shared premise is that in open market competition between Western and regional or locally produced materials the Western content will tend to dominate. The goal each side shares is to dominate the local media. The Western media would do so, it is said, by means of open-market competition and the local and regional media by insulating the local media through the use of cultural trade barriers, tariffs, quotas, or perhaps censorships of some sort.

Fostering cultural diversity is the common goal. It finds resonance with the first article of Unesco's Constitution—the goal of collaboration "in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples through all means of mass communication, and to that end, [Unesco shall] recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image". Cultural diversity is, however, not necessarily the natural condition. It may indeed require nurturing. It is here that some recent technological developments offer special promise.

The overwhelming and dominant technological trend, of course, is the movement toward electronic communication. Paper and film as storage devices and con-

Photomontage Tsunchisa Kimura © Pacific Press Service, Tokyo, ANA, Paris

Photo International Labour Office, J.P. Laffont © Sygma

COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE

A crucial problem, now well known, is that of the major role played by transnational corporations in regard to mass media and, more generally, cultural industries, especially in the field of information, as well as that of the export of technologies whose supposed neutrality is disproved in every study that has been made. In the face of these problems there is a very evident need to work out national and international strategies.

duits for information are giving way to magnetic tape and laser disc storage and transmission via wire and the expanded usable electromagnetic spectrum. The family elder as storyteller is replaced by the announcer. The messenger boy and paper boy seek other careers as information is electronically delivered directly into the home information terminal.

The printed page in the form of books, magazines, and newspapers remains economically viable but is diminished somewhat by the prominence of broadcast news and entertainment. The role of computers and high-speed data lines in transporting text and data begins to blur the distinction between print and video. Increasingly a news story might pass from a reporter's word processing terminal through an editor's terminal to the news reader's home screen without ever having taken form as ink on paper.

Electronic communication is the central historical trend, but a full sense of its implications requires special attention to three characteristics of the technology which have unique relevance for cultural diversity. The first factor is lowered costs. Dramatically increased economies of scale and efficiency in manufacture result from the development of transistors and microelectronic chips. Printed circuit boards of inexpensive silicon which can be stamped out almost like pamphlets from a high-speed printing press replace laboriously hand-assembled component parts.

Optical cable offers to cut costs of transmission by wire on an equally dramatic scale. In 1920 a transatlantic phone call cost eighteen dollars (US) for three minutes; by 1980 the cost had fallen to under two dollars. The cost of overseas video transmission via satellite has dropped equivalently. As the speed and storage capacity of microcomputers grow and the price of manufacture falls, some observers predict that within the next decade it may prove to be cheaper not only to send a letter but an entire book via high speed data lines between two microcomputers.

Ultimately the cost of electronic transfer and display is likely to fall below the cost of postage alone, not even considering the rising costs of printing and binding. Miniaturization and improved engineering have reduced the cost of video cameras and recorders. Professional quality colour video recording and editing equipment is increasingly within the financial reach of local schools and community groups while a decade or so ago equivalently equipped television studios were economically viable only in major metropolitan areas.

The second factor of emerging electronic technology is increased bandwidth. Bandwidth is a term adopted from electrical engineering which has come to refer more generally to numbers of channels and the amount of information each can carry.

There are several related technical developments here. The increased speed of data communications mean that a great deal more can be communicated in equivalent time (and presumably stored for future reference) leaving a channel free for others to use. Refinements in "multiplexing" technology mean that with the appropriate equipment, two users of a cable or assigned frequency can use that channel simultaneously without loss of fidelity or accuracy. Finally, improved engineering allows the use of higher and higher spectrum frequencies especially for satellite communication. In effect, the portion of the electromagnetic spectrum available for communication is increasing. ▶

Improvements of coaxial and optical cable and associated electronics make possible a dramatic expansion of the number of distinct video and audio signals that can be brought into the home. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s most coaxial cable systems carried a maximum of eight to twelve television signals. Now, with approximately fifty channels on a single cable, we are approaching the practical limits of that transmission technology.

The third element of electronic communications is the growth of interactivity. Perhaps the most notable examples in this case are the increasing significance of microelectronics in videodisc, teletext and videotex monitors which allow individual audience members to edit, scan, replay and generally control the speed and character of video and text presentation. Interactive videodiscs allow viewers to explore still pictures, graphics and motion video with the same control they would exercise in consulting a dictionary or encyclopedia.

The attentive reader has no doubt already anticipated the conclusion. Falling production and transmission, and display costs, increased available bandwidth and the strengthened ability of the audience member to review and select preferred content leads to the concept of narrowcasting.

Narrowcasting, as contrasted with broadcasting, focusses attention on communication to smaller, special-interest audiences. The economies of scale, especially in commercially supported mass communications, have traditionally been characterized by the search for the largest possible audiences—the pursuit of the common interest and mass appeal. But as new conduits of information and entertainment grow, demand is likely to expand as well, and the changing economics is likely to permit specialized productions of text and video which more fully reflect the cultural diversity of their audiences.

Some sceptical observers of new communications technologies may simply see it as the renewed dominance of American popular culture being reproduced on Japanese electronics. Such a perspective is likely to lead to renewed efforts to build barriers to transnational communications. But such a posture neglects a special characteristic of technological development which could work to the benefit of the Third World and an increasingly two-way flow of cultural communications. It might be identified as a sequential theory of communications development.

The underlying idea is simply that as newer (and initially rather expensive) technologies such as videodisc, teletext, direct broadcast satellite and cable TV expand first in the industrialized nations, demand for culturally diverse and specialized programming is likely to outstrip the supply. This may represent an opportunity for the more entrepreneurial of nations further down the development curve to concentrate their efforts on producing and marketing specialized materials.

It could prove to be the reverse of the more traditional pattern in which as television and other media are introduced into developing countries the sudden demand for content leads to the mass importation of American and European programming. There are numerous cultural subcommunities in the US from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and Scandinavia which would welcome the opportunity to renew closer ties with specialized news and traditional culture from their homelands.

It may be true, generally, that in the world of the twentieth century there is enough mobility of peoples across cultural and national boundaries to justify a quantum leap in the transmission of specialized content to the newly settled. As these cultural materials spill over and are conveniently available to their new and curious neighbours, one might expect a lessening of cultural differences and misunderstanding. Perhaps this is the global village notion reborn via cable television.

■ **Russell Neuman**

What's new in media technology

BANDWIDTH. *A term adopted from electrical engineering which identifies the amount of information a channel can carry, or more generally speaking, the total number of communications channels available.*

CABLE TELEVISION. *The transmission of television signals via coaxial cable. Originally known as CATV (Community Antenna TV), cable was first used to conduct TV signals from a large antenna usually on a nearby mountain to rural communities who would otherwise not be able to receive broadcast signals in their homes. Gradually, with the expansion of specialized programming transmitted to cable operators via satellite, cable has expanded into suburbs and cities where it is increasingly a competitor with broadcast television. Current cable technology can bring 50 to 100 channels into the home.*

DIRECT BROADCAST SATELLITE (DBS). *The transmission of high power radio or television signals direct to home receiving sets from geostationary satellites. These satellites are located 22,300 miles above the equator and have fixed "footprints" (broadcast reception areas) which usually spill well beyond the borders of a single country. As a result of the use of space communication and the international character of the reception areas, DBS technology has especially profound international ramifications. The large broadcast coverage area makes DBS of special interest to countries with large, dispersed populations, or especially rugged terrain which makes terrestrial broadcast impractical.*

NARROWCASTING. *A concept contrasted to broadcasting which grows out of the new media. With many more channels into the home, this notion suggests, mass media will increasingly offer special-interest programming to smaller, more culturally distinct audiences.*

MULTIPLEXING. *The term refers to engineering techniques for communicating multiple messages on a single channel.*

OPTICAL CABLE. *A technology still in development. Cables of thin, flexible glass or plastic fibres will probably emerge as a less expensive substitute for coaxial cable for carrying broadband communications such as television. The technology transmits light down optical fibres rather than electrons down copper wires to communicate data, audio, or video information.*

TELETEXT. *A system for broadcasting text information such as news headlines or weather forecasts to specially equipped television sets by means of a small unused portion of the broadcast signal. Special decoders attached to the sets at the option of the viewer store and reproduce frames of digitally encoded text information and simple graphics.*

VIDEODISC AND VIDEOCASSETTES. *Discs and tapes are capable of reproducing two to six hours of television programming on a special playback unit in a manner similar to an audio recording. The discs and disc player are generally somewhat less expensive to manufacture than the equivalent videocassette equipment. The disc technology lends itself especially to interactive use giving the viewer unusual control on selecting a particular video frame or the pace and manner of playback. The primary advantage of videocassette is that, as with audio tape, the user can continually record new materials on the cassette.*

VIDEOTEX. *A two-way text communications system using coaxial cable or telephone lines to connect terminals in homes and businesses with a central computer and information bank. The first experiment was the English Prestel system which found limited success among business users and few residential customers. Nonetheless, new versions of the technology are now being very actively explored in nations around the world as a way of allowing individuals to gather up-to-date information, conduct financial transactions and order products from home terminals.*

UNESCO NEWSROOM

Olympic Order Gold Medal for Unesco's Director-General

The gold medal of the Olympic Order was presented to Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, Director-General of Unesco, at a ceremony in Paris on 6 May. Making the award, the president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Mr. Juan Antonio Samaranch, spoke of Mr. M'Bow's untiring efforts to promote sport and culture and to spread Olympic ideals throughout the world. Thanking Mr. Samaranch for the honour conferred upon him Mr. M'Bow declared that Unesco would give its support to a proposal made by the president of the IOC for the creation of sports museums around the world.

Venezuelan science-writer awarded Kalinga Prize

Aristides Bastidas, a Venezuelan science journalist who had his first article published when he was only eleven years old and then went on to become an editor and to write a regular science column in his newspaper *El Nacional,* has been awarded the Kalinga Prize for the Popularization of Science. In his acceptance speech Mr. Bastidas declared that scientific journalism could contribute to overcoming technological dependence, which in its turn brought cultural and political dependence. Created in 1951, the £1,000 Kalinga Prize is awarded annually by a jury appointed by Unesco for work contributing to the popularization of science. It bears the name of the ancient Indian empire which flourished under the reign of Ashoka, the enlightened emperor who renounced war to devote himself to study and religion.

1st Delphi International Film Festival

A film festival with no pre-selection or censorship and at which all films entered were shown regardless of length, language and content, was held in June at Delphi, Fokida, Greece. The primary objective of the Delphi festival, which is to be an annual event, is to act as a centre of attraction for the gathering of information and the exchange of ideas about film-making and to provide a forum for free artistic expression.

Two new Member States

Unesco Member States now number 157 with the accession to membership, on 13 April, of the Kingdom of Bhutan and, on 10 May, of Belize.

Centenary of Nicolae Titulescu

This year marks the centenary of the birth of Nicolae Titulescu (1882-1941), Romanian statesman, author and jurist. A professor of civil law, he attended the peace negotiations in Paris after the First World War and as Minister of Foreign Affairs he championed Romania's accession to the Little Entente (1933) and the Balkan Entente (1934). Twice President of the League of Nations, he was a leading advocate of European collective security based on disarmament. As a jurist Titulescu made a remarkable contribution to the elaboration and defence of the principles of international law, particularly as applied to the non-violent settlement of disputes and respect for independence and national sovereignty. Behind all his actions could be discerned an ardent desire to introduce a new, pacific attitude in international affairs, to determine the causes of war and to indicate ways by which it could be avoided. Forty years after his death his aims and ideals remain fresh and untarnished and astonishingly relevant to the world of today.

International Books in Print

The complete current book output of Unesco and other international organizations, as well as thousands of titles from Third-World publishers, government agencies and research institutes are listed in *International Books in Print 1981-1982,* a comprehensive catalogue of English-language works published outside the United States and the United Kingdom. The 2-volume repertory, published by K.G. Saur Verlag KG, of Munich, lists some 90,000 titles from publishers in 94 countries.

Window on China

The atmosphere of daily life in China today can be tasted in Paris this summer at an exhibition being held at the Centre Georges Pompidou (until 21 September). Organized by the *Centre de Création Industrielle* with the aim of "letting the Chinese present their country themselves", the exhibition presents such aspects of the everyday environment as housing, consumer goods, and communications. Chinese culture will be the theme of a forthcoming issue of the *Unesco Courier.*

Samad Nourinejad

We regret to announce the death of our colleague Samad Nourinejad, Editor of the Persian edition of the *Unesco Courier.* After a distinguished career as a schoolteacher, he was appointed head of the Department of International Relations of the Iranian Ministry of Science and Higher Education. He was subsequently named Assistant Secretary-General of the Iranian National Commission for Unesco.

BOOKSHELF

RECENT UNESCO BOOKS

• **Cultural Development: Some Regional Experiences.** A collection of five studies on cultural development in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, the Arab States and Europe. 1981. 477 pp. (60 F) **See page 16.**

• **Living in Two Cultures.** The Socio-Cultural Situation of Migrant Workers and their Families. Co-published with the Gower Publishing Co. Ltd., Aldershot, UK, who have exclusive sales rights in the UK (140 F).

• **Cultural Policy in the Sudan,** by Mohamed Abdel Hai. 1982. 43 pp. (15 F);

• **Cultural Policy in the Mongolian People's Republic.** 1982. 49 pp. (15 F) (Unesco's "Studies and Documents on Cultural Policies" series).

• **Communication in the Community.** An international study on the role of the mass media in seven communities. 1982. 85 pp. (14 F)

• **More than Enough?** An optimistic assessment of world energy, edited by Robin Clarke. (The first study in a new Unesco series, "Sextant"). 1982. 183 pp. (48 F).

• **The Social Context of Educational Planning,** by C.A. Anderson. Unesco: International Institute for Educational Planning. 2nd reprint, 1982. 35 pp. (15 F).

• **The Right to Education: What Kind of Management?** by Daniel Haag. A study prepared for the International Bureau of Education. 1982. 175 pp. (30 F).

• **Different Theories and Practices of Development.** Report of an expert meeting on the role of new theoretical concepts in the development process, organized by Unesco with the collaboration of the United Nations University and the National Commission for Unesco of the Mongolian People's Republic. 1982. 258 pp. (80 F).

• **Technologies for Rural Development.** A study of the potentials of self-help housing, home health care, cottage industries and other ways whereby rural people can make their environment an acceptable alternative to life in an urban slum. 1981. 174 pp. (35 F).

THIS MONTH'S CONTRIBUTORS

OTTO KLINEBERG, *the distinguished Canadian psychologist and anthropologist, has taught at universities in many parts of the world including Columbia, New York (professor emeritus of Social Psychology), Sao Paulo (Brazil) and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, in Paris. His association with Unesco goes back to the early days of the Organization and includes a period as Head of the Division of Applied Social Sciences (1953-1955). Since 1970 he has been Honorary President of the World Federation for Mental Health. Among his long list of published works are* Race and Psychology *(Unesco, 1951),* The Human Dimension in International Relations *(1964) and* At a Foreign University *(co-author with Frank Hull) 1979.*

RUSSELL NEUMAN, *of the United States, is a sociologist who teaches at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His research focuses on the social and political impact of new communications technologies.*

TAHAR BEN JELLOUN, *Moroccan writer and journalist, who has divided his time between France and Morocco since 1971. Among his published works are* La Plus Haute des Solitudes *(essay) 1977,* Les Amandiers sont Morts de Leurs Blessures *(poems) 1976, and a novel,* La Prière des Absents *(1981).*

CHINGIZ TOREKULOVICH AITMATOV, *of the USSR, writes both in the Kirghiz language and in Russian. His work, which has been widely translated and published (over 20 million copies printed in the past 12 years) has brought him the highest prizes in the USSR, the Lenin Prize and (twice) the USSR State Prize, as well as the Toktogul State Prize of the Kirghiz SSR. He is an active member of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz SSR and president of the cinematographic union of the Kirghiz SSR.*

NGUGI WA THIONG'O *is a well-known Kenyan novelist, essayist and playwright who has written widely on questions of African culture and traditions. Notable among his published works are* Homecoming *(essays) 1972,* Petals of Blood *(novel) 1977, and a play* I'll Marry When I Choose *(1981) of which he is the co-author with Ngugi Wa Miire.*

HAN SUYIN, *Chinese-born British writer, is the author of many books including* A Many-Splendoured Thing *(1952),* My House has Two Doors *(1980) and* Morning Deluge—Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Revolution *(1972).*

AUGUSTO ROA BASTOS, *of Paraguay, won an international reputation with his book* Hijo de Hombre, *published in English as* Son of Man *by Victor Gollancz, London, 1965. His latest novel* Yo el Supremo *is required reading for students of Latin American literature in a number of European universities. He is currently teaching Latin American literature at the university of Toulouse (France). This article consists of extracts from a paper presented at the Second Congress of Writers in Spanish, which was held at Caracas (Venezuela) in October 1981.*

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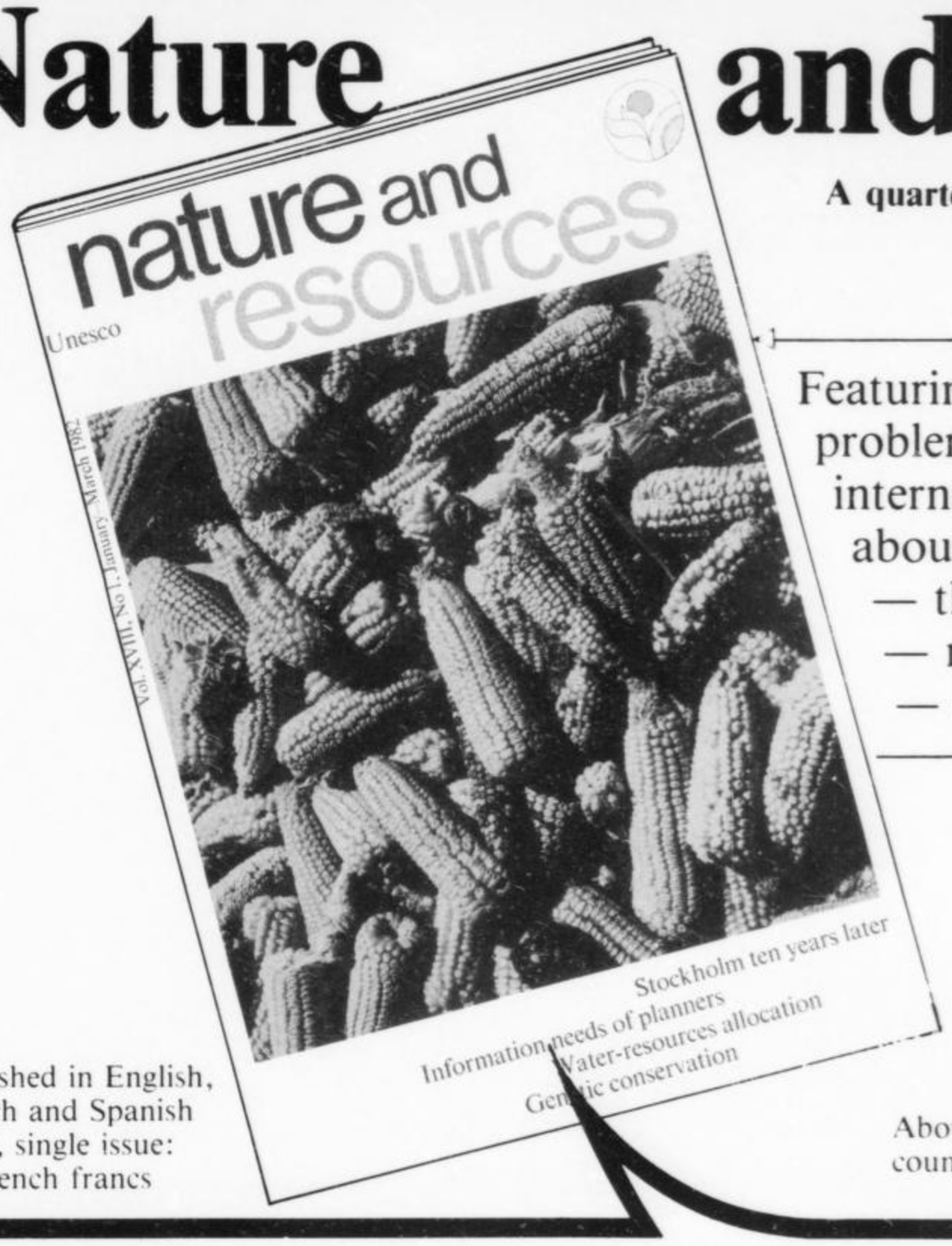

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Good morning Mr. Vermeer

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